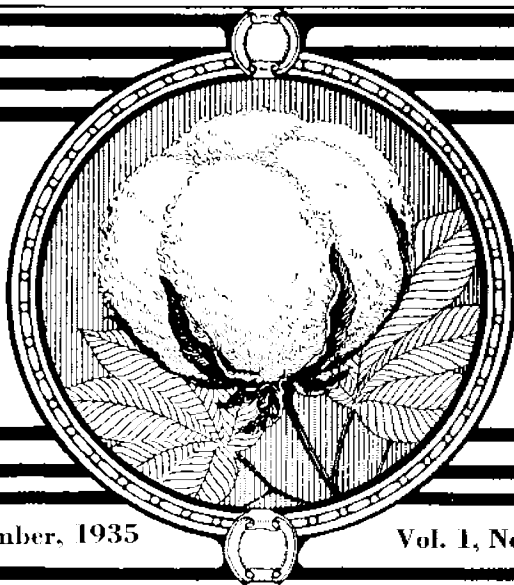


THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY



November, 1935

Vol. 1, No. 4

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION**

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY

Published Quarterly by
THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BOARD OF EDITORS

PHILIP M. HAMER, *The National Archives*
DWIGHT L. DUMOND, *University of Michigan*
E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*
FLETCHER M. GREEN, *Emory University*
THOMAS P. ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*
WILLIAM C. BINKLEY, *Vanderbilt University*
RICHARD H. SHRYOCK, *Duke University*
CHARLES S. SYDNOR, *University of Mississippi*

Managing Editor

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON, Louisiana State University

Editorial Associate

EDWIN A. DAVIS, Louisiana State University

GUARANTOR

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

President—E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

Vice President—THOMAS P. ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*

Secretary-Treasurer—CHARLES M. KNAPP, *University of Kentucky*

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the *Journal* should be sent to the Managing Editor, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

The Southern Historical Association supplies the *Journal* to its members. The annual membership fee is three dollars; upon payment of fifty dollars, any person may become a life member. Single numbers of the *Journal* are available at seventy-five cents. Membership applications and checks should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University.

The Southern Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter April 5, 1935, at the Post Office at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY

VOL. I, No. 4

NOVEMBER, 1935

Contents

<i>Railroad Building in Alabama During the Reconstruction Period.</i> By A. B. Moore	421
<i>The Reverend Francis Le Jau's Work Among Indians and Negro Slaves.</i> By Edgar Legare Pennington	442
<i>Economic Benefits of Secession: Opinions in Mississippi in the 1850s.</i> By P. L. Rainwater	459
<i>The Work of Southern Women Among the Sick and Wounded of the Confederate Armies.</i> By Francis B. Simkins and James W. Patton	475
<i>Notes and Documents</i>	
Lamar and the Frontier Hypothesis. By Wirt Armistead Cate . . .	497
William Wordsworth and Mississippi Bonds. By Buford Rowland . .	501
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Kenny, <i>Romance of the Floridas: The Finding and the Founding,</i> by John Tate Lanning	508
Dau, <i>Florida, Old and New,</i> by John Tate Lanning	509
Chinard, <i>A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, or Voyages of a Frenchman Exiled for His Religion, with a Description of Virginia & Maryland,</i> by W. G. Bean	512
Temple, <i>The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, in Georgia,</i> by Fletcher M. Green	514
Wyndham, <i>The Atlantic and Slavery,</i> by Elizabeth Donnan	516
Booth, <i>Zachary Macaulay: His Part in the Movement for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and of Slavery,</i> by Elizabeth Donnan	516
Jenkins, <i>Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South,</i> by Ralph B. Flanders . .	520
Coleman, <i>Stage Coach Days in the Bluegrass,</i> by R. S. Cotterill	522
Truett, <i>Trade and Travel around the Southern Appalachians before 1830,</i> by William O. Lynch	523
Turner, <i>The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections,</i> by John D. Barnhart	525
McGrane, <i>Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts,</i> by Bessie C. Randolph	527
Larsen, <i>Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm,</i> by Dwight L. Dumond	529
Du Bois, <i>Black Reconstruction: An Essay toward a History of the Part which the Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880,</i> by Francis Butler Simkins	530
Robison, <i>Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee,</i> by Philip M. Hamer	532
<i>Historical News and Notices</i>	535
Personal	535
Historical Societies	536
Bibliography	539
<i>Directory of Contributors</i>	545

Railroad Building in Alabama During the Reconstruction Period

By A. B. MOORE

When the War Between the States was over and the people of Alabama addressed themselves to the task of rebuilding their state, one of the greatest single needs was railroads. During the war all of the railroads were completely worn out or destroyed. Means were not at hand for rebuilding, to say nothing of expansion, and the impoverished condition of the people made the state an unattractive field for outside railroad capital.

The task of attracting outside capital was made doubly difficult by the fact that the Federal government and the state and local governments of the North were generously subsidizing railroad building in that section. Opportunities in the North were very alluring to railroad men, whether they were merely interested in manipulation and exploitation, or in building against economic expansion that appeared immediate and enormous. Thus liberal state aid was necessary in Alabama, as in the other seceded commonwealths, to attract railroad capital. This fact should be kept in mind if one would see in its true perspective Alabama's railroad policy under Carpetbag-Scalawag management. A sharp distinction should be made between indispensable policy and the fraud, pillage, and plunder connected with it.

The Carpetbaggers did not originate the policy of state aid to railroads. Soon after railroad building was begun in Alabama, the promoters began to ask for state help. During the prosperous eighteen fifties the demand gathered momentum. Thousands of farmers were landlocked and the two ends of the state had very little business intercourse. The Tennessee Valley was tied up commercially, thanks to the highland barrier below it, much closer with Charleston and New Orleans than with Mobile, and sectional feeling was strong between northern and southern Alabama. Men of vision recognized the economic and political importance of linking the Tennessee and Alabama river systems. In 1851

a committee of the legislature recommended that the state should endorse railroad bonds to the extent of \$2,000,000. State aid became the dominant issue in the gubernatorial election of 1853 in which the Know-Nothing candidate, who favored the policy, polled the largest vote against John A. Winston that had ever been cast against a Democratic candidate for governor. Winston opposed state aid on principle and because of the financial distress resulting from the failure of the State Bank.

By the opening of Winston's second term the demand for state aid had become very strong. Numerous railroads had been projected upon whose rosters appeared the names of many of Alabama's most influential political leaders, newspaper editors, and business men. These promoters joined the hue and cry of booming towns for state aid to railroads. Nothing but the stubborn opposition of Governor Winston prevented Alabama from plunging into a reckless policy of railroad funding. During the legislative session of 1855-1856 he vetoed thirty-three bills passed for the aid of railroads, thereby winning the sobriquet of the "Veto Governor." Over his veto the legislature enacted laws for loaning the total sum of \$900,000 to the Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad, the Memphis and Charleston, and the Mobile and Ohio.¹ Several of the counties and towns assisted railroads, either by subscribing to their stock or making direct loans to them. During the war the Confederate and state governments rendered substantial assistance in various ways.

In response to acute needs and popular demand the legislature in 1867, still in the hands of the home people, passed an act which offered liberal aid to railroad builders.² This act served as a basis for all of the state aid laws of the Carpetbag-Scalawag regime. Thus the Carpetbaggers merely adopted and extended a policy which they quickly discerned was freighted with enormous possibilities for personal gain. They promptly displayed an inclination to cultivate their opportunities and as promptly became the objects of flattering attentions from eastern railway promoters and agents of

¹ A loan of \$400,000 was made to the Mobile and Ohio, but the other roads received nothing. The laws providing loans for them were repealed in 1858.

² The constitution of 1865 permitted the legislature by a two-thirds vote to loan the state's money or credit to persons or corporations, probably with the necessity of state aid to railroads in view. Art. IV, sec. 41.

financial houses of New York, Boston, London, and Paris. The odor of booty was scented from afar.

By the act of 1867, when twenty continuous miles at one or both ends of a road had been "finished, completed, and equipped," the governor was authorized to endorse first mortgage bonds at \$12,000 per mile, and to continue the endorsement at that rate as each twenty-mile section was finished and equipped, until the road was completed.³ If one or both termini lay in an adjoining state, the governor was authorized to endorse twenty miles of the road at either or both ends at \$12,000 per mile, provided the bonds so endorsed should constitute a lien on the whole road. Bonds were to be endorsed also for the construction of bridges at the rate of sixty dollars per lineal foot, if the bridges were constructed of wood, and at one hundred dollars per foot if made of iron. The bonds endorsed by the state could not be sold for less than ninety cents in the dollar. The president and a majority of the board of directors of each road receiving such aid must be citizens of the state and the headquarters of the company must be maintained in the state. Two of the directors of the road must be appointed by the governor.⁴

While this act offered liberal assistance to the railroads, those who sponsored it sought to protect the state against losses. The residence requirement for railroad presidents and for majorities of boards of directors, and the provision limiting location of headquarters, were intended as protection against outside plungers and plunderers. This law was never put into operation, owing to the fact that soon after its passage the Johnson government was repudiated. It contained one serious defect that was unfortunate since it became the basis of the Carpetbag-Scalawag railroad laws. Any railroad project whether valuable or useless, honest or fraudulent in design, could be endorsed. A policy of special acts in aid of bona fide and needful railroad enterprises would have been far better than a blanket law making state aid possible for any and all projects.

The Carpetbaggers and Scalawags had hardly warmed their chairs in the legislature before they amended the law so as to permit the endorsement of bonds in five-mile blocks

³The act did not apply to roads of less than thirty miles in length.

⁴*Acts of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1866-1867*, pp. 17-18.

after the first twenty miles of a road had been completed.⁵ Under the promptings of railway promoters the legislature, a few weeks later, further amended the law so as to increase state endorsements from \$12,000 to \$16,000 per mile.⁶ The old law was useless, it was said. But if the state would endorse the bonds of railroads to the extent of \$16,000 per mile, capital would flow in from Europe and the North and in the course of a few years Alabama would have a network of railroads that would rival that of Pennsylvania.⁷ Counties and towns were willing to invest in railroads and the promoters were not at all inclined to place obstacles in their way. The legislature responded, December, 1868, by authorizing these local units to subscribe to capital stock and to levy a special tax to cover the obligations incurred.⁸ Thus the gates to public aid were opened wide.

The Scalawag governor, William H. Smith, with some regard for sound procedure, recommended the following year that the general statute requiring aid to any and all roads should be repealed and that aid should be offered by special enactments in specific cases where there was reasonable certainty of success. Because of the zeal for railroads, he feared that projects would be undertaken that were not needed and which would not pay interest on the bonds endorsed by the state. Worse still, he feared that railroad builders would depend entirely upon state-endorsed bonds and subscriptions by counties and towns for their capital.⁹ The promoters who had requested \$16,000 of state endorsement per mile must have deliberately planned to finance the building of their roads in this way. They probably knew that it had cost \$16,706 per mile to build and equip the Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad through rugged country during the

⁵ *Acts, 1867-1868*, pp. 18-19. The "Radical" constitution of 1867 forbade the state to engage in works of internal improvement, but stipulated that its credit in aid of such might be pledged "on undoubted security, by a vote of two-thirds of each house of the General Assembly." Art. IV, sec. 33.

⁶ This act repealed that part of the former law pertaining to bridges but provided for the endorsement of the bonds of the Wills Valley Railroad beyond the border of the state. *Acts, 1867-1868*, pp. 202-203.

⁷ H. A. Herbert, *et al.*, *Why the Solid South? or, Reconstruction and Its Results* (Baltimore, 1890), 51-52.

⁸ *Acts, 1867-1868*, pp. 514-520.

⁹ Message to the legislature, Nov. 15, 1869, *State Documents, 1869-1870*, pp. 19-20.

fifties.¹⁰ The state auditor, R. M. Reynolds, a Carpetbagger, thought that no road should be endorsed for more than \$10,000 per mile since the average assessed value of the railroads at that time was less than \$13,000 per mile.¹¹

While the legislature was not willing to abandon the policy of a general public aid law, the "Omnibus Railroad Bill" passed by it, February 21, 1870, carried provisions which apparently were intended to protect the state against some of the dangers pointed out by Governor Smith.¹² The state executive was *required* to endorse the first mortgage bonds of all railroads chartered prior to April 1, 1870, which could meet certain stipulated requirements.¹³ No endorsements were to be made until the road had completed and equipped twenty continuous miles of "first-class road." The specifications for a "first-class" road were set out in detail. The first twenty miles must be constructed out of the company's own resources and none of the cost could be refunded from the proceeds of bonds endorsed by the state. A false statement on the part of the president and treasurer of the road made them liable to serve from five to ten years in the state penitentiary. For the subsequent completion of each continuous five miles of road, bonds were to be endorsed upon the same terms as those for the first twenty miles. The company must certify to the governor what uses were made of the money realized on each installment of endorsed bonds and if he were not "fully satisfied" that the money had been honestly and economically expended, it was his duty to make no more endorsements. The transaction was declared to be a contract between the road and the state, but the state reserved the right to amend the law at any time for its own protection. The road must deposit money with the state at specified times to cover interest on the bonds endorsed; and each year after the fifth it was required to deposit two per cent of the amount of bonds endorsed to provide a sinking fund for the payment of these bonds.¹⁴ In the purchase of materials it must give preference

¹⁰ The *National Intelligencer*, Apr. 21, 1860, estimated that the average cost of building railroads in Alabama prior to 1860 was \$26,285 per mile.

¹¹ *Auditor's Report*, 1869, p. 14.

¹² *Acts*, 1869-1870, pp. 149-157.

¹³ The bonds could not be sold for less than 90% of their face value, or exchanged for materials at a higher rate than the cash value of such materials.

¹⁴ The state must have two directors in each company appointed by the governor and responsible to him. Governor Lindsay testified in 1871 that the people of the

to those produced in Alabama. After the completion of its road the company must make an annual report to the governor, setting out in detail the business operations and conditions of the road. No road which received state aid was to be permitted to charge more than four cents per mile for passenger traffic, and all forms of discrimination were forbidden, except that twenty-five per cent more might be charged for local freight than for through freight.¹⁵ By failure to comply faithfully with any requirement of the law a road forfeited all claims to assistance.

The responsibility for protecting the state against frauds was clearly placed on the governor. He was given ample authority to acquaint himself with the affairs of each road that received state aid, and he was expressly mandated to withdraw aid for any infraction of the law. For his guidance special and general reports were required from time to time. Nor did he have to trust these reports unduly. He was given power to appoint at any time a committee of three competent persons (one to be a civil engineer) to make an independent investigation as a means of checking the accuracy of reports. If a road defaulted in the payment of interest or principal on the bonds endorsed, he was required to seize the offending road and put it in the hands of a receiver. If in the receiver's judgment the road could not be so operated as to meet its debt obligations, it was his duty to sell it.¹⁶

The law was defective in that it provided for too much aid when the value of property in Alabama had been reduced from \$725,000,000 to \$160,000,000 and the state was annually borrowing money to pay interest on its then existing debt; and it did not give the governor power to refuse assistance to any project which in his judgment was not needed or was unlikely to be successful. R. B. Lindsay, Democratic governor from 1870 to 1872, said that "The law was all penned for the benefit of the railroad companies, not for the benefit of the state."¹⁷ Be that as it may, it is obvious that the success

state were generally opposed to this law. *Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States. Alabama* (42 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Report, No. 41, Pts. 8-9), I, 199. Cited hereafter as *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*

¹⁵ Governor Smith had appealed to the legislature to prohibit all unfair discriminations. *State Documents, 1869-1870*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ The law gave the state a first lien on the property of the company. When a road was put up for sale the governor's agent might buy it in.

¹⁷ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 193.

of the experiment depended largely upon the supervision and guidance of the governor. His was a tremendous responsibility when the railroad fever was surging and unscrupulous promoters were striding up and down the land.

A few days after the passage of the above law a sweeping measure was enacted, declaring that "all acts and things" done in the state for railroad purposes in "substantial" compliance with the act authorizing the counties and towns to subscribe to the stock of railroad companies, were legal and confirmed.¹⁸

The Alabama and Chattanooga, now the Alabama Great Southern, extending from Chattanooga by Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Meridian to New Orleans, was the first road to apply for state aid and the first to default in its obligations to the state. The story of this project illustrates fully the character of railroad building in Alabama during the Carpet-bag-Scalawag regime. Indeed, this road gave tone and complexion to railroad procedures in the state; all promoters who felt the need of "boodle" followed its suit and co-operated with its wily leaders. It was organized by John C. and Daniel N. Stanton of Boston out of two bankrupt properties, the Wills Valley Railroad and the Northeast and Southwest Alabama Railroad. Before the union of these roads, the Boston promoters had secured special legislation for the Wills Valley project by which the state was obligated to endorse its bonds for those portions of it in Georgia and Tennessee, as well as its Alabama mileage.

The Stantons themselves had no money, but with the backing of certain financial houses in the East they came into the state to buy favors if favors could not be had by coaxing and intrigue. J. C. Stanton, a "hard-working Scotch fellow," "a man of wonderful energy," a "red-headed hustling rascal,"¹⁹ is given credit for the legislature's increase in the state endorsement of railroad bonds from \$12,000 to \$16,000 per mile and for the special favor conferred upon the Wills Valley road. He had not been in Montgomery long before there was common talk that legislators had sold their votes for "prices which would have been a disgrace to a slave before the war."²⁰

¹⁸ *Acts, 1869-1870*, p. 286.

¹⁹ Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, 1912), 216.

²⁰ *Montgomery Mail*, Jan. 25, 1871; Herbert, *et al.*, *Why the Solid South*, 52.

With a considerable portion of the road already constructed, a promise of state endorsement of bonds to the extent of \$16,000 per mile, and a liberal land grant from the Federal government, the Stantons proceeded with their project. The Alabama and Chattanooga was to be 295 miles long and therefore, when completed, would be entitled to state endorsed bonds to the sum of \$4,720,000. When Governor Smith retired from office he stated that he had endorsed the bonds of this road for \$4,000,000 on 250 miles, but he had, as a matter of fact, endorsed its bonds to the extent of \$5,300,000.²¹ In other words, Governor Smith endorsed the company's bonds for \$580,000 more than the law allowed the whole road, although at least forty-five miles of it were uncompleted and about fifty miles more were hastily and shabbily constructed—the rails being salvaged from the woods where Federal troops had bent them around trees.²² Nor was this all. The first twenty miles were not built as required by law but were purchased, for a small price no doubt, from the old defunct Northeast and Southwest road, and the first twenty miles out of Chattanooga were rented from another company whose bonds had been endorsed at the rate of \$8,000 per mile by the state of Georgia. The rent on this leased road was paid from the proceeds of the sale of Alabama endorsed bonds, though the law required, as we have seen, that such funds could be used only for construction and equipment.²³ Seeking the largest profits possible, the thrifty and shifty promoters imported more than 600 Chinese laborers from California and the Central Pacific to help cheap Negro labor construct the road.²⁴ While the Stantons jockeyed and bartered with Carpetbag and Scalawag politicians, these Celestial navvies, when off duty, strove futilely to overreach the Negroes in their celebrated game of rolling and coaxing dice.

The state was doing much for the Alabama and Chattanooga, vastly more in fact than the law allowed. But why

²¹ *Independent Monitor*, Dec. 13, 1870; *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 194; Governor Lindsay's message to the legislature, Nov. 21, 1871, *Senate Journal*, 1871-1872, p. 13.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Alabama vs. Burr et al.*, 115 U. S. Reports, 418; W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 591.

²⁴ Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War, 1870-1871* (London, 1871), 163.

should it not do more? During the legislative session of 1869-1870, John C. Stanton came down to Montgomery to seek a direct loan of \$2,000,000 from the state for his company. He engaged four rooms in the Exchange Hotel, the down-town political rendezvous, from which he directed his campaign. Soon those solons, white and black, who had a keen sense for the substance of things, began to make pilgrimages to this mecca of spoils, and complaints began to be voiced that Stanton was as completely controlling the legislature, so far as railroad affairs were concerned, "as if he owned every member, body and soul."²⁵

The Stantons had no money of their own to provide *doceurs* for the Alabama lawgivers, but agents representing the banking house of Henry Clews & Company of New York City and of other financial concerns of the East were on the ground with bloated purses. An investigation by a Democratic house the following year (1872) threw a flood of light on what happened. J. C. Stanton conducted a veritable liaison with members of the legislature in his suite of rooms. Votes were bought for whatever price this canny Scotchman found it necessary to pay. Jere Haralson, a Negro, received \$50 for his vote, while another Negro, one Caraway from Mobile, who had a better understanding of the value of votes to the Stantons, required \$500 for his support. One white senator is said to have required \$1,000 for his vote on the Stanton bill, as upon all other matters.²⁶ Frank Gilmer of Montgomery, of old ante-bellum stock and president of the South and North Alabama Railroad, who was seeking favors for his road, found it necessary to contribute \$25,000 to the Stanton racket, which sum he borrowed from Montgomery bankers. John Hardy, a Republican senator from Dallas County and chairman of the committee to which the Stanton bill had been referred and adversed, was given a large sum of money with which to make preparation for the passage of the bill. It was promptly referred to his committee again with instructions that it should be reported out within fifteen minutes. The committee made a favorable report in the time allowed and the bill promptly passed the legislature—the Radicals sup-

²⁵ Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama*, 216.

²⁶ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 593-594; *Report on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States* (42 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Report, No. 41, Pt. 1), 319-320. Cited hereafter as *Ku Klux Rept.*

porting it and the Democrats opposing.²⁷ On the night that the legislature adjourned, this same John Hardy, according to J. P. Stowe, one of his Republican colleagues in the senate, carried off \$150,000, a part of which he had collected for others.²⁸

Thus the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad secured a direct loan of \$2,000,000 in state bonds, to be secured by a first mortgage upon the lands granted to the road by the Federal government. The law stipulated that the governor should issue bonds to the road "from time to time,—only in such sums as shall be shown by sufficient evidence to the governor—to have been expended" by the company "in the construction and equipment of its said railroad." The road must be "completed and equipped in first class style" and cars put into operation on it by June 1, 1871.²⁹

Governor Smith, it is claimed, issued all of the bonds in one day and placed them in the hands of the company within a month after the passage of the law and the company promptly put them on the market in this country and in Europe.³⁰ With some of the proceeds the company built a fine hotel and an opera house in Chattanooga. Thus the Stantons were imitating Fiske and Gould of Erie fame.³¹ The State of Alabama sued Isaac T. Burr, the Stantons, and their associates for \$3,000,000 for damages to the state resulting from the illegal and fraudulent sale and use of the Alabama and Chattanooga bonds. But the state lost its suit because it failed, among other things, to show that the losses for which it sought to recover were the direct and immediate consequence of the wrongful conduct complained of. Moreover, the court averred that the state had no direct lien on the bonds in question and therefore a fraudulent use of them was not a fraudulent diversion of the state's securities.³² Thus,

²⁷ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 232; *Montgomery Mail*, Jan. 25, 1871; *Southern Argus*, Feb. 2, 1872; Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 157; Herbert, *et al., Why the Solid South*, 52-53; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 594.

²⁸ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 232.

²⁹ *Acts, 1869-1870*, pp. 89-92. These lands were later fraudulently disposed of by members of the company. *Senate Journal, 1875-1876*, p. 22.

³⁰ A special house committee declared that the \$2,000,000 straight bonds were "illegally issued and fraudulently obtained." *Southern Argus*, Feb. 4, 1876.

³¹ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 195; Report of House Railroad Investigating Committee, 1871. Some of the bonds, contrary to the law, were sold for less than 90 cents in the dollar, and some were even given away. *Alabama vs. Burr et al.*, 115 U. S. Reports, 418.

³² *Alabama vs. Isaac T. Burr et al.*, 115 U. S. Reports, 418.

the Stantons and their associates, with hands begrimed with the filth of fraud, were liberated on legal technicalities.

Governor Smith was good to the Stantons and they undertook to reward him when he stood for re-election. They contributed liberally to his campaign and on election day John C. Stanton marched about 900 employees, gathered from various parts of the Alabama and Chattanooga, to the registration office, had them duly registered, thence marched them to the polls and voted them for him. The Stantons were influenced to support Smith to some extent, doubtless, because his Democratic opponent, R. B. Lindsay, was critical of state aid procedures and he had gone to Montgomery and attempted to defeat the bill for the \$2,000,000 loan to the Alabama and Chattanooga. Lindsay was elected and hard times came upon the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad.

Soon after Lindsay was inducted into office the Alabama and Chattanooga defaulted in the payment of interest on its bonds. This brought about an investigation which exposed to public view the scandalous way Governor Smith had endorsed railroad bonds. Governor Lindsay testified before the Joint Select Committee of Congress on conditions in the Southern States that "not a line of a record" pertaining to bond endorsements had been kept.⁸³ In his message to the legislature, January 24, 1871, he said: "To what extent bonds under the various statutes have been indorsed and issued by the state it is impossible to inform you. No record can be found in any department of the action of the executive in this regard." "⁸⁴ This was a deplorable situation when the law was plain on the point that proof of the completion of a "first class" road must be deposited with the governor before state endorsements could be made. Lindsay telegraphed to Smith's private secretary for information and received the illuminating reply that there were no records except "the certificates of the railroad presidents on file." Some of these were found which read as follows: "This is to certify that five more miles [of the road named] has been finished." The law, we have seen, gave the governor power to appoint a committee to go behind the reports of the railroad authorities,

⁸³ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 193.

⁸⁴ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 595.

but Smith "never appointed a single man to examine a single mile of road for which he issued bonds."³⁵

Governor Smith endorsed 5300 bonds for the Alabama and Chattanooga, 1300 of which were fraudulent.³⁶ Newspapers teemed with charges that fraudulent endorsements and issues were being made, and warned the public against them with a threat of repudiation when the people of the state should come into power again. The governor did not fully admit that he had endorsed 1300 more bonds than the law allowed, but D. W. Stanton "acknowledged it *in toto*."³⁷ Afterwards Smith strongly contended that some of the bonds signed and sealed by himself were illegal and blamed Lindsay and the legislature for paying interest on them.³⁸

Hilary Herbert, writing in 1890, said: "No one believes [Smith] accepted a bribe, but he was criminally careless." "He trusted the railroad company and the bond brokers, who were leagued together to rob the State." Smith himself wrote, April 3, 1871: "I admit that if I had attended strictly to the endorsement and issue of these bonds that all this never would have occurred." "³⁹ Governor Lindsay testified he was satisfied that Smith knew of the overissue to the Alabama and Chattanooga.⁴⁰ This view is at least plausible.

Financial houses in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, London, Paris, and Germany handled the Alabama and Chattanooga bonds and the state bonds loaned to this company. Erlanger et Cie of Paris purchased some of the state bonds at ninety-five cents in gold, and 500 of the fraudulent railway bonds were hypothecated to this firm for \$300,000. A large block of fraudulent bonds were partly sold and partly hypothecated to Drexel & Company of Philadelphia; and thirty bonds of this type were hypothecated to a firm in Boston for locomotives.⁴¹

³⁵ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 197.

³⁶ Those numbered above 4720 were, Governor Lindsay said, "so clearly the offspring of fraud and villainy, their endorsement so utterly without the warrant of lawful authority," that they were publicly condemned. Message to the legislature, Nov. 20, 1871, *House Journal*, 1871-1872, p. 19.

³⁷ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 199.

³⁸ Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 158.

³⁹ Herbert, *et al.*, *Why the Solid South*, 53.

⁴⁰ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 198.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 199; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 596.

Governor Lindsay recognized the first 4000 of the endorsed bonds and the 2000 state bonds loaned to the company. All others were repudiated. He was authorized by the legislature to go to New York to arrange for the payment of interest on the legal bonds held by innocent purchasers.⁴² The *Southern Argus* said that the governor went to New York and put "himself in the hands of the bondholders and their agents, to whose arts and blandishments he succumbed."⁴³ He paid interest to the amount of \$834,000. "No interest was paid on bonds held by the road or hypothecated by its officials."⁴⁴ The *Argus* claimed that all of the company's bonds, straight and endorsed, were fraudulent and should be repudiated. The fact that Governor Lindsay had paid interest on some of them did not make them binding on the state, since he was subjected to "improper solicitations and influences."⁴⁵

Lindsay was widely criticized for acknowledging the legality of the endorsement of any of the bonds. Indeed, many demanded that all bond transactions authorized by the Carpetbag legislatures, which were controlled by aliens backed by military force, should be repudiated. The *Selma Times* (March 5, 1874) voiced this sentiment when it thundered out: "We will not pay a single dollar of the infamous debt, piled upon us by fraud, bribery, and corruption, known as the 'bond swindle' debt. Let the bondholders take the railroads."⁴⁶ The State Debt Commission in 1876 was of the opinion that the bonds of the Alabama and Chattanooga were illegally endorsed, but since the state had seized the road it had assumed obligation for the bonds.⁴⁷

When the state was faced with paying interest on the bonds of the Alabama and Chattanooga, Governor Lindsay appointed a receiver for it and instructed him to take charge. He seized the Alabama part, but when he attempted to take charge of those portions that lay beyond the borders of the state, he encountered serious obstacles. At the Mississippi

⁴² *Acts*, 1870-1871, pp. 12-13; *Senate Journal*, 1871-1872, p. 15.

⁴³ Feb. 4, 1876.

⁴⁴ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 597.

⁴⁵ Feb. 4, 1876. The *Mobile Register*, Jan. 7, 1876, alluded to the promoters of some of the railroads as "knaves and adventurers."

⁴⁶ See *Senate Journal*, 1875-1876, pp. 213-221, for similar views.

⁴⁷ *House Journal*, 1875-1876, pp. 199 et seq.

end of the line the employees of the road had seized it to secure their pay. It will be recalled that Alabama had endorsed bonds for those parts of the road in Tennessee and Georgia at \$16,000 per mile, but Georgia now seized that portion within its own bounds, which it had endorsed for \$8000 per mile. Governor Lindsay employed a squad of attorneys and instituted legal proceedings in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, and the Federal courts to establish the state's claims.⁴⁸ The road was finally sold at a bankrupt sale, Governor Lindsay purchasing it for the state at \$312,000. This procedure became cause for another legal contest. The Federal Circuit Court, in May, 1872, placed the road in the hands of receivers for the first mortgage bondholders; and on August 24, 1874, it transferred the road to the trustees of the first mortgage bondholders.⁴⁹ Lindsay and his successors, David B. Lewis and George S. Houston, attempted to sell the road, but there was no market for this white elephant. Finally, the State Debt Commission, in 1876, surrendered to the holders of the first mortgage bonds all claims of the state upon the road, and the state paid \$1,000,000 in addition to interest, to wash its hands of the disgusting business.⁵⁰

The Alabama and Chattanooga might have been completed for less than \$5,000,000, and might have, as Governor Lewis said, "been one of the finest enterprises on the continent." With the backing of Alabama more than \$6,000,000 were raised, not to mention the assistance of Georgia and the Federal land subsidy, but at the time the road was seized by the state the receiver estimated that it would require \$1,000,000 to complete it. The road, with all equipment, was estimated in 1873 to be worth \$4,018,388.⁵¹

Many other railroads applied for aid and received it by methods similar to those employed by the Alabama and Chattanooga. We have noted the involvement of the South

⁴⁸ Lindsay's message to the legislature, Nov. 21, 1871, *State Documents*, 1871-1872, pp. 13-16; *Senate Journal*, 1871-1872, pp. 14-18, 44, 314-323; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 598.

⁴⁹ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 599.

⁵⁰ Lewis' messages to the legislature, Dec. 20, 1872 (*Senate Journal*, 1872-1873, p. 43) and Nov., 1874 (*Senate Journal*, 1874-1875, pp. 10-11); *Acts*, Dec. 21, 1872, Mar. 20, 1875; *House Journal*, 1875-1876, p. 200.

⁵¹ In 1871, that part of the road in Alabama was valued at \$6,120,995. Auditor's Report, 1871, p. 97; 1873, p. 118; *Ku Klux Rept.*, 172, 173; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 598.

and North Alabama Railroad in the Stanton lobby. In December, 1868, the accumulated "two and three per cent fund," from the Federal land grant of 1819, amounting to \$691,-789.43, was appropriated to this road.⁵² By a special act in March, 1870, the governor was authorized to increase the endorsement of its bonds from \$16,000 to \$22,000 per mile.⁵³ At the latter rate it was entitled to the endorsement of 1900 bonds for the sum of \$1,900,000, but Governor Smith endorsed its bonds for \$2,200,000.⁵⁴ When the ex-treasurer of the state, Arthur Bingham of Ohio, was summoned by the Lindsay investigating committee to testify as to frauds he excused himself on the ground that his testimony would tend to incriminate himself. It was estimated in 1870 that the South and North received from the state, including the "two and three per cent fund," \$2,000,000 more than it cost to build it.⁵⁵ It also had a Federal land grant of 428,211 acres, much of which was rich in coal and iron.⁵⁶ In his message of November 17, 1874, Governor Lewis stated that this road was endorsed for \$4,026,000, including \$2,200,000 which did not appear in the records.

The East Alabama and Cincinnati, of which Governor W. H. Smith was president and three senators and two members of the house were directors, had no money of its own and was mortgaged to Henry Clews & Company of New York for \$500,000. It secured state endorsements for \$400,-000 and a bond issue of \$25,000 from the town of Opelika in exchange for its worthless stock. The Tennessee and Coosa Rivers road was grafted on to this road in order that it might, contrary to an agreement with the state, procure endorsement for its bonds. The East Alabama and Cincinnati, mortgaged for \$500,000 and endorsed by the state for \$400,000, was valued at only \$264,150.⁵⁷

⁵² William E. Martin, *Internal Improvements in Alabama* (Baltimore, 1902), 70; *Acts*, 1868-1869, pp. 487, 494.

⁵³ *Acts*, 1869-1870, p. 373.

⁵⁴ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 197.

⁵⁵ *Montgomery Mail*, Feb. 24, 1870, cited by Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 601.

⁵⁶ *Alabama Manual and Statistical Register*, 1871.

⁵⁷ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 601-602; Report of House Railroad Investigating Committee, 1871; Lewis' message to the legislature, Nov. 17, 1873, *Senate Journal*, 1873, p. 12; Auditor's Report, 1873, p. 118; *House Journal*, 1871-1872, pp. 305, 353; *Acts*, 1869-1870, p. 290.

The Selma and Gulf Railroad, which had no resources of its own, was endorsed by Governor Smith for \$640,000, a considerable part of which was not recorded.⁵⁸ The road was valued at \$424,900.⁵⁹ The Mobile and Alabama Grand Trunk road likewise had no resources, but received state endorsements of \$800,000, and the city of Mobile issued \$1,000,000 of bonds for it. About \$320,000 of the endorsement was secretly and illegally obtained by an agent of the road.⁶⁰ The road was valued at \$704,225.

The Montgomery and Eufaula was given more than \$30,000 of the "three per cent fund." Under the authority of an act of December 30, 1868, Governor Smith endorsed its bonds for \$1,280,000. In addition, it obtained in 1870, by bribery, it was charged, a direct loan of state bonds to the amount of \$300,000 without giving security. It was valued at \$825,289. In 1871 it was leased to a body of capitalists with the understanding that the state would cancel the debt of \$300,000 and the lessees would pay the interest on its bonds. They evidently defaulted because the state seized the road and ultimately sold it for enough money to cover the losses caused by endorsement.⁶¹

The state lost heavily in its dealings with all of the roads except the Montgomery and Eufaula, the Savannah and Memphis, and the Mobile and Montgomery. The Savannah and Memphis was endorsed for \$640,000. At one time when it had been endorsed for \$320,000 it was worth only \$263,900.⁶² Happily it was better managed than most of the railroads and never defaulted in the payment of interest. The Mobile and Montgomery, completed at the time it requested aid, was worth \$2,516,250.⁶³ It was endorsed for \$2,500,000.⁶⁴ The promoters of the Selma, Marion and Memphis, who never intended to complete the road, made General N. B.

⁵⁸ General P. D. Roddy was financial agent of this road.

⁵⁹ *Southern Argus*, Feb. 2, 1872; *Auditor's Report*, 1871, p. 99, and 1873, p. 118; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 602.

⁶⁰ The president of the road, Colonel William M. Byrd, resigned because of the thievery being practiced. *Southern Argus*, Feb. 2, 1872.

⁶¹ *Acts*, 1872-1873, p. 58; Governor Lewis' message to the legislature, Nov. 17, 1873, *Senate Journal*, 1873, p. 12.

⁶² *Auditor's Report*, 1871, p. 99; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 600.

⁶³ *Auditor's Report*, 1873, p. 118; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 603.

⁶⁴ *Acts*, 1869-1870, Feb. 25, 1870.

Forrest president to give it respectability and bargaining power with the state authorities. Robert Somers, the alert English traveler, looking on, observed: "This road is promoted with much energy under the presidentship of General Forrest, and great efforts are being made to obtain liberal subscriptions in the various counties through which it passes."⁶⁵ Obviously the promoters were successful with their activities both at the capitol and in the counties. Governor Smith illegally endorsed forty miles of the road for \$720,000, the while reporting that he had endorsed for \$640,000, and at least two counties—Dallas and Pickens—gave liberal aid.⁶⁶ The company failed and General Forrest impoverished himself in an effort to pay its debts. While Governor Lindsay testified that Forrest should have known of "any improper practice in regard to the road,"⁶⁷ his biographers have exonerated him.⁶⁸ Certainly he played a manly rôle after his company failed.

Counties and towns in the hands of rascally politicians made their contributions to the railroad racket. It is impossible to procure complete information about the railroad bond issues of the counties and towns. Naturally, the issues were most extravagant where the Radicals were in control. Randolph, Chambers, Lee, Tallapoosa, and Pickens counties bankrupted themselves and for a long time were known as the "strangled" counties. Mobile, Selma, Opelika, and a few other towns became so deeply involved that they could not pay interest on their debts and lost their charters.⁶⁹

The total amount of state endorsement of railroad bonds has been variously estimated. Governor Lindsay testified, June 16, 1871, that the completion of the roads then entitled to endorsement would increase the liabilities of the state to approximately \$30,000,000.⁷⁰ Robert Somers estimated that the final obligation would be about \$20,000,000.⁷¹ Fleming computed the amount to be about \$17,000,000, practically all

⁶⁵ Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 168.

⁶⁶ Herbert, et al., *Why the Solid South*, 53; *Southern Argus*, Feb. 2, 1872, Feb. 4, 1876; *Independent Monitor*, Dec. 13, 1870.

⁶⁷ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 199.

⁶⁸ James H. Mathes, *General Forrest* (New York, 1902), 362; John A. Wyeth, *Life of Nathen Bedford Forrest* (New York, 1899), 617, 619.

⁶⁹ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 605.

⁷⁰ *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 194.

⁷¹ Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 158.

of which was unsafe.⁷² Incomplete records in the state auditor's office in 1871 showed that state endorsed bonds amounted to \$13,120,000 and state bonds issued for railroad purposes to \$2,300,000, making a total contingent debt of \$15,420,000.⁷³ The State Debt Commission in 1876 recognized only \$8,658,000 of endorsed bonds and the \$2,300,000 of straight bonds as valid.⁷⁴ Incomplete records account for more than \$4,000,000 of bond issues by the counties and towns. Whatever the amount issued by them, it brought them little else but debt and trouble.⁷⁵

The value of all railroads in the state in 1871, as determined by the State Board of Equalization, was \$24,099,070.87.⁷⁶ Their value in 1875, according to the railroad officials, was \$9,654,684.99.

During the Smith term Alabama was a happy hunting ground for those whom Mathew Josephson has styled "The Robber Barons." The railroad plungers were so successful that a group of northern capitalists offered, in 1871, to set factories and furnaces going for \$5,000,000 of state assistance. If they had only come down the year before there would have been "no chance for a bill containing \$5,000,000, properly pressed, to have failed."⁷⁷ But Governor Lindsay and a Democratic house definitely checked the state funding railroad spree. Robert Somers, an impartial observer, said "the railway liabilities of Alabama will be kept in future to the limit strictly prescribed to them by law."⁷⁸ For this service Lindsay was shelved by his own party. He was *persona non grata* to prominent Democrats connected with railroads, and to Democratic lawyers, who were battenning as expert lobbyists of the roads and successful defenders of rascally promoters by resort to legal technicalities. There were those, too, who did not approve of his paying interest on the Alabama and Chattanooga bonds and seizing the road in recognition of the state's obligations.

⁷² Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 603.

⁷³ Auditor's Report, 1871, p. 21.

⁷⁴ House Journal, 1875-1876, p. 199.

⁷⁵ *Southern Argus*, June 14, 1872; Herbert, et al., *Why the Solid South*, 53; W. G. Brown, *History of Alabama* (New York, 1901), 278; *Northern Alabama*, 737.

⁷⁶ Auditor's Report, 1871, p. 101.

⁷⁷ Herbert, et al., *Why the Solid South*, 57.

⁷⁸ Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 158.

Lindsay was succeeded by David P. Lewis, a deserter and a Scalawag. But the Radical victory was a hollow one, so far as the railroad looters were concerned. The general state aid law had expired in 1871 and public indignation had been aroused by the exposure of frauds and maladministration in connection with state aid to the railroads. This situation, plus the distress produced by the panic of 1873, bad crop seasons, and scourges of yellow fever, made new state aid laws impractical and further exploitation by the roads launched under the old laws improbable. Moreover, Alabama was on the brink of bankruptcy and its credit was gone. The plunderers during Smith's administration had despoiled the state and destroyed its credit. This fact was made painfully patent when Governor Lewis tried to sell state bonds. He informed the legislature that he could not sell them except on ruinous terms.

Governor Lewis spent much of his time trying to uphold the state's tottering financial structure against the defaulting railroads whose bonds had been endorsed. In 1873 the so-called "\$4,000 per mile act" was passed to relieve the state of some of its burdens. By its terms the railroads might exchange their endorsed bonds for seven per cent state bonds at the rate of four dollars for one. Roads entitled to endorsement might take in lieu of it a loan of such state bonds at the rate of \$4000 per mile.⁷⁹ The South and North, the Grand Trunk, and the Savannah and Memphis together exchanged \$5,103,000 of their endorsed bonds for the state bonds at a large saving to the state.⁸⁰

The characteristics of railroad building in Alabama during the Reconstruction period are strikingly like those that accompanied the building of the trunk lines and the trans-continental lines of the North. The railroads planned and begun would open up and intersect the state in every direction and tie up at numerous points with the steel network of the country. Robert Somers, observing the budding projects, said: "If the most ample means of communication can do anything to develop great natural riches, there should be a brighter future for this State than probably any other in the Union." With its almost unique river system and the

⁷⁹ *Acts, 1872-1873*, p. 45.

⁸⁰ *House Journal, 1875-1876*, pp. 195-197.

railroad lines projected, the state, he averred, would be as amply provided with the means of transit "as any country could hope to be or as any country in the world probably is."⁸¹ So said the railroad promoters; so believed the people. What an alluring will o' the wisp for a people neck deep in the ashes of poverty! Attenuated towns were to bulge into noisy marts of trade and barren countrysides were to flourish like oases. Huge profits for those who would invest and general prosperity for all, thus went the beck and the call.

The builders brought little or no money with them. The Stantons, for example, had nothing but audacity, energy, and high acumen for manipulation. Most of the railway capital was furnished by the state and much of it went into the pockets of rascally promoters. Ex-governors and other prominent leaders in politics and business were given high positions in the railroad corporations to lend a semblance of respectability, while the legislature was bribed and a governor was corrupted, or was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the railroad problems. Just as the penurious Collis P. Huntington deplored the cost of "fixing" members of Congress and of state legislatures, so the Stantons were pained when they had to spend a penny in Alabama for a dollar of opportunity. Ex-Governor R. M. Patton, nominal president of the Alabama and Chattanooga, was scolded by the Boston officials of this road for allowing their charter to cost them \$200,000.⁸² Some of the roads were never intended to be completed, while most of the others were ravished by their promoters and the panic of 1873, and lay in bankruptcy at the time the Radicals were turned out. The names of several of them have long since disappeared from print and happily from the memory of man.

The methods employed in railroad building in Alabama during Reconstruction were neither better nor worse than those generally practiced throughout the country. They have seemed to be worse only because of the impoverished condition of the people, and because they were foisted upon the people by alien hands upheld by the military power of the nation.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 168, 169.

⁸² *Ku Klux Rept., Ala. Test.*, I, 591.

By methods that were tragically costly and shameful the total railway mileage of the state was increased from a few hundred to 1737 miles during the Carpetbag-Scalawag-Negro regime.⁸³ To be sure, many miles lay in unfinished roads, while the few roads that were completed were by no means "first class." The condition of the railroads, however, was not due wholly to inefficiency and shabby manipulation. The railroad builders encountered serious obstacles. Governor Lindsay, who was critical of the builders, attested this fact when he said: "The railroad companies of Alabama have had an arduous struggle and it is a cause for astonishment that they have achieved so much."⁸⁴ With later building and improvements some of the Reconstruction railroads have been of incalculable value in the rebuilding and economic expansion of the state.

⁸³ Auditor's *Report*, 1875, p. 66.

⁸⁴ Message to the legislature, Jan. 30, 1872, *House Journal*, 1871-1872, p. 354.

The Reverend Francis Le Jau's Work Among Indians and Negro Slaves

By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

Francis Le Jau was one of the clergymen who ministered to the French inhabitants of South Carolina in the early days of that province. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, there was a general exodus of Huguenots from France; some of them sought refuge, either temporarily or permanently, in England; many of them settled in America. Zealous in religion, they founded houses of worship wherever they established homes; and in South Carolina they planted no less than half a dozen churches, all originally committed to the Reformed and Calvinistic polity and doctrine—Charles Town, Goose Creek, the Orange Quarter, St. James's (French Santee), St. John's (Berkeley), and New Bordeaux (Hillsboro). The first five of these churches were absorbed by the Church of England in 1706; the last named, founded in 1763, remained Presbyterian until the War of the Revolution.

There is mention of the French congregation at Goose Creek as early as 1695, although the French church was not built there till some years later. The relations between the Anglicans and the Huguenots were amicable from the start, and this circumstance helped bring on the eventual merging of the French settlers with the Established church. By 1702, it was noted that only five families in the Goose Creek section still clung to the old Calvinistic views.¹

The interest in missionary activity was stimulated in the Church of England by the organization of the "Venerable Society," popularly known as the "S. P. G.," and officially chartered as "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Receiving its royal sanction in 1701, this corporation carried on an intensive and extensive campaign for the Christianizing of foreign lands; it raised funds and supported clergymen and schoolmasters in all the American

¹ Arthur H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, 1928), 67.

colonies (except Virginia and Maryland, where the Church of England was locally supported) until the breach of relations between the mother country and America; and to this day it remains the active and aggressive missionary branch of the Anglican Establishment. Twice a year, the missionaries were obliged to render reports of their doings to the Society, and these letters form today one of the best historical sources for colonial American history.

Francis Le Jau was one of the Society's missionaries. Born at Angiers, France, about 1665, and reared a Huguenot, he embraced the English church and received episcopal ordination in London. To the end he was committed to the Anglican allegiance. On the 27th of November, 1705, Le Jau received the royal provision for his traveling expenses to his post of duty;² and on October 18, 1706, he arrived in Carolina from Virginia. The Huguenot church, which existed in the Goose Creek region prior to his coming, seems to have been Anglicized about a month before he appeared on the scene.³ St. James's, Goose Creek, was erected into a parish by the Church Act of November 30, 1706, which provided for the building of churches and the collection and payment of the ministers' stipends.⁴ It may be said that the security implied by this enactment was never realized; political agitation and local indifference served to keep the clergyman's position precarious during the whole colonial period, and it was mainly the bounty of the S. P. G. that relieved the condition.

Le Jau was cordially received by the inhabitants, and was pleased to find men of such parts as Governor Nathaniel Johnson and Chief Justice Nicholas Trott. Even the dissenters, notwithstanding the bitterness and prejudice that existed at the time, treated the newcomer with civility. The church and the parsonage house were being fitted up, and it seemed as if the province afforded "Gentility politeness and a handsome way of Living," and at the same time might serve as a place where poor families might come and live well. "For this is the finest Climate I ever saw," the missionary wrote

²Gerald Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811* (London, 1904), 40.

³Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 67-69.

⁴Nicholas Trott, *The Laws of the British Plantations in America, Relating to the Church and the Clergy, Religion and Learning* (London, 1725), 5-22. The Church Act is printed in full in this work.

in his first enthusiasm; "the Soil produces every thing without much trouble, and at this time the weather is finer than in Aprill with you in England." There were about a hundred families in the Goose Creek parish, where he was sent to minister; several Negroes attended church, and the Indians appeared "very quiet, sweet humour'd and patient, content with little which are great Dispositions to be true Christians."⁵

Le Jau received an annual allowance from the Society of fifty pounds, as well as twenty-five pounds for his charges in transporting himself and his family.⁶ Besides Goose Creek, he held services in other places, supplying Charles Town during a vacancy and visiting the French settlement in Orange. His first letters were optimistic, not only with regard to the climate and living conditions but also with regard to the people among whom he worked. He was later doomed to disillusionment; but one feels that the lack of response of which he complained when he knew his field better was due to no neglect or carelessness on his part. He was confronted by considerable prejudice and he found sectarian influences at work, which presented problems that he had never anticipated. For example, parents were unwilling to have their children baptized, under a strange notion that the church would demand a fee for the sacrament; and he was compelled to persuade unwilling listeners that they had been misinformed about a good deal which characterized the Church in England. "You can't imagine how they are Cheated here by false prophets," he wrote.

But thanks be to the God of all Mercy and father of Lights there is a number of Souls Scatter'd among all perswasions that really are desirous to learn and do well, they come, hear, & ask Questions. I am resolved with God's Grace to send them all to Jesus Christ and ye primitive State of Christianity which are the Rules of ye Faith and practice of our Holy Church.⁷

His plan was to "appoint some convenient time in the week for instructing the poor and ignorant from among the white,

⁵ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: MS. Letters, Ser. A, Vol. III, No. 68, Dec. 2, 1706 (Transcribed by Stevens & Brown for the Library of Congress). Documents from this source will be cited hereafter as "S. P. G."

⁶ *An Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1706), 32-33.

⁷ S. P. G., Ser. A, Vol. III, No. 141, Apr. 15, 1707.

black & Indians"; and he was sure of co-operation on the part of the parents and the masters. For the first few months of the missionary's residence, if we may judge from his letters, there was little doubt in his mind that his parishioners were eager to support him in his efforts and that they were enthusiastic over the opportunities afforded by a clergyman and a teacher in their midst.

Le Jau's work among the underprivileged elements of society will be reviewed in more detail in its proper place. For the present attention will be focused on the main events of his parochial ministry. His family arrived safely in July, 1707, but his parishioners were slow in providing a suitable house. At that time, a new church was in process of construction near the Ashley river, and two others were being built; the one which already existed was too small and not substantial. "We are making bricks to build incessantly another," he wrote; "I humbly desire to be directed about what must be done for the Consecrating these new Churches."⁸ Le Jau's field of operations was very extensive, and with the poorest of roads and trails it was hard to cover. Robert Steevens, a member of the South Carolina assembly, had declined to serve as Senior Warden of Goose Creek, not only because of his duties as a legislator but also because he "thought it ridiculous to be Church Warden of a pretended parish without Bounds or Limitation: You call it a Town when it only consists of Stragling Plantations and I believe there is more People in some Churches in England than in all this Province."⁹

A year and a half after his arrival, Le Jau showed by his letters that he had a more realistic grasp of the situation; the buoyant optimism of the first few months had been dampened. For nearly six months he had been sick with fever, and had experienced seven relapses. Financial difficulties threatened him, as well as the other missionaries. The limits of the country parishes remained undetermined; subscriptions for support were uncertain and not always paid. He had hesitated to mention the subject of finances to his parishioners, lest they turn away from the church. Nor were the people any

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 146, Sept. 21, 1707.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 19, Feb. 3, 1708 (The years have been made to conform to the New Style).

more diligent in providing the funds for the building of churches.¹⁰

Difficulties with the Indians were adding to his problems and anxieties. The traders were taking advantage of the natives, and some of them had become very surly and resentful. Indian raids were liable to occur at any time, and the Spaniards were using the red men in their efforts to undermine the British occupation. Le Jau was always ready to plead the cause of the natives. The Indians were very cruel to one another, he said, but this should cause no wonder, since the white traders increased "that Bloody Inclination in order to get Slaves."¹¹

In spite of bad health, Le Jau was faithful in his parish duties, and met his parishioners regularly at church. Personally many of them exemplified qualities which gave him much satisfaction. "Their exterior behaviour is civil sober and edifying," he reported. "Pretty many of them do apprehend and improve in the holy Practice of the divine interior vertues which have a sweet influence upon their Conversation."¹² It was difficult for some of his members to get to church across the dangerous rivers; there were the obstacles to be expected among a frontier people.

I wish some things here were carryed on more for the glory of God than for private ends; [he wrote], but not being able to remedy those Evils, I content myself to pray and do what I can in the place that providence has directed my Superiors to send me. I thank God we have very good Souls in our Neighbourhood, our Congregation increases to 50 in all, and above 30 at a time; our dissenting Brethren that are of a mild and good disposition don't love to be teized; I chuse the way of declaring the plain truths and meddling little with Controverted tenets; that pleases them best. We are infected with Railers, Scoffers, & Atheistical persons, and those pretended to be the mighty Statesmen; God keep us from seeing the World govern'd by their principles.¹³

In some of his letters, Le Jau mentioned the prevailing bad health which ransacked the province. There was no provision for the relief of the poor, and the parishes were debarred from making assessments. Hence Le Jau proposed that the wardens should gather the offerings of all well-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 18, Mar. 13, 1708.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 64, Apr. 22, 1708.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 91, Nov. 15, 1708.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 48, Aug. 5, 1709.

disposed persons on communion days. There was so much dissatisfaction even at this mild suggestion that he was obliged to discontinue the plan.¹⁴ The minister was much annoyed by the petty faultfinding and self-complacency of his parishoners.

They have in this Country the ambition to rule and Command their Ministers; and for Peace sake I in my own district must bear pretty rough usage; I see that if I should be too earnest in shewing the Evil and opposing it, it wou'd be worse. I am satisfyed and bless God for the good disposition of some Men who are sincerely believers and Religious, the Number is not great; Many believe nothing at all of Religion; the Contagion I perceive is passed into mean Persons & illiterate Men who argue most blasphemously & live scandalously, I must not say in my hearing, for I spare none of them; but things come to my ears.¹⁵

A schoolmaster, by the name of Benjamin Dennis, was sent by the Society to Goose Creek; and by the fall of 1711, the vestry was trying to raise funds for building a house and school. In the meantime, Dennis lived from house to house, as the guest of Le Jau and various parishoners.

The Goose Creek church was finally built, about 1711-1712. Benjamin Godin, a prominent French Protestant, was the first donor of the land on which it now stands. The tract contained sixteen acres. But it was Le Jau who promoted the building, and spurred the people on to exertion. He was even forced to give his own word for the payment of such things as were needed for its completion.¹⁶ Venerated today as a relic of colonial America and visited by tourists from all over the country, the church is a memorial in brick and stone to its tireless and earnest first rector.

In April, 1715, the terrible Indian war broke out in South Carolina—one of the most horrible occurrences of early American history. The Yemassee nation started the conflict by the massacre of an agent and some white traders residing among them. Soon a great part of the province was involved, and the clergy were among the sufferers, in the loss of their possessions and homes. Plantations were laid waste, and the settlers were murdered. As soon as the news reached the British Isles, the S. P. G. sent relief; and half a year's

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 58, Feb. 9, 1711.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 102, July 10, 1711.

¹⁶ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 67-71.

income was voted to each missionary and schoolmaster in the Society's service.¹⁷ Le Jau was compelled to leave his parish and seek refuge in a house near Charles Town. At noon on the 17th of May, on the border of his parish and within a few hours' march of his dwelling, there was a skirmish in which the white captain and twenty-six young men were killed, as well as a number of Indians.¹⁸ In October it was felt that the worst was over, although the toll had been horrible. The southern parts—about one-fifth of the province—were entirely depopulated. A letter signed by Le Jau and the other Anglican clergy, and forwarded to the Bishop of London, reveals the fine spirit of those missionaries.

Att the beginning of this bloody Warr we had but little prospect of Success, & when severall of the Inhabitants wth most of the Dissenting Teachers retired for safety to the neighbouring Colonies, We thought it our Duty to improve this Opportunity & convince our severall Congregations that We sought not theirs but Them, & regarded not our bodyes & temporall concerns, if we might contribute somewt towards the saving their Souls & promoting their spiritual Well-fare.¹⁹

After an absence of over five months, Le Jau returned to his home on October 28. Soon his parishioners, except those in the army, strayed back; and on the second Sunday in November, twenty of them received the holy communion in gratitude for their deliverance. About twenty miles northwest, on the frontier of Le Jau's parish, there was a general rendezvous of the army; and the officers and men attended the Goose Creek church on Advent Sunday, November 27, just before marching towards the middle-most of the Indian settlements, where they designed to settle a strong garrison. The day afterwards, Le Jau wrote to the Society that he intended, when weather allowed, to instruct the poor heathen in his parish.²⁰

But the good missionary's health was failing. His life had been strenuous, and he seems never to have been free

¹⁷ Edgar L. Pennington, "The South Carolina Indian War of 1715," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXXII (1931), 251-257. This account is based upon the letters of missionaries, recounting their sufferings and the losses sustained by themselves and their parishioners.

¹⁸ S. P. G., New Photostat Material, South Carolina, ff. 40-43 (Library of Congress).

¹⁹ Fulham MMS. (Bishop of London's Archives), South Carolina, No. 231, Oct. 18, 1715 (Transcribed by Stevens & Brown for the Library of Congress).

²⁰ S. P. G., Ser. B, Vol. IV, No. 32, Nov. 28, 1715.

from malaria. He continued his labors, being zealous for the welfare of the Negro slaves until the last. He was offered St. Philip's parish, Charles Town, where he would be assured of a better benefice and sufficient support; and the Society took pains to express commendation of his splendid service. But the recognition came too late. On the 10th of September, 1717, Francis Le Jau passed away. He had been sick for several months before his death, and had lost the use of his limbs and also his speech. His body was interred at the foot of the altar of the Goose Creek church.²¹

A man of unusual attainments as well as of great consecration and zeal, he was true to his convictions in the face of extreme apathy and even opposition. The University of Dublin conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, before journeying to America. The colonial church and the country as a whole have a right to be proud of a person so willing to champion the cause of the oppressed and the ostracized classes; and South Carolina may point to him as one of the pioneers in the cause of Negro enlightenment.

When Le Jau began his missionary labors in South Carolina, he was favorably impressed by the Indians. Those with whom he conversed really shamed the white men by their lives. "Conversation and Sense of Religion quite different from ours; ours consists in words and appearance, theirs in reality." He was anxious to bring them to a knowledge of Christ, and seemed to have no doubt of his success.²² He looked forward to the opportunity to instruct the poor natives. "I design with God's blessing to have a day in the week for the Instruction of poor Indians and Negroes," he wrote the Society; at first he apprehended no opposition from the slave-owners, and felt that the lack of a house was his main drawback.²³

The white men of the province had neglected the conversion of the Indians, and this fact was noted with regret by some of the more broad-minded inhabitants. The same Robert Steevens, who declined to serve as Senior Warden of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 89, 93, 95; Ser. A, Vol. XIII, pp. 31, 136, 138. These letters are from Le Jau's fellow missionaries in the province, and were written shortly after his death.

²² *Ibid.*, Ser. A, Vol. III, No. 141, Apr. 15, 1707.

²³ *Ibid.*, No. 142, June 30, 1707.

Goose Creek church, wrote to the S. P. G. that "it was a shame for us (who profess to be more Orthodox than the Spaniards) to suffer them [the Indians] to return to their former Heathenism, when as they lived under the Spaniards they were instructed and professed their Religion." When the Society sent the Reverend Samuel Thomas as a missionary to South Carolina, for the purpose of working among the Indians, the good designs were frustrated by the act of assembly which destroyed the power of the Bishop of London in the province. "I am sorry to find us more backward by our Example to make them Christians than they to embrace it," said Steevens; the Indians are abused by some of the white traders, and "Some of their Chief men called at my House in their way to the Governours to Complain that twenty families of them that had submitted themselves to the English Government were made Slaves, for which two Indian Traders were bound to answer it at the Sessions one was acquitted the other found Guilty."²⁴ The greed and ruthlessness of the traders certainly proved obstacles in the evangelization of the Indian, as conscientious Christian missionaries and laymen were soon to learn.

On the 15th of September, 1708, Le Jau wrote to the Society:

I perceive dayly more and more that our manner of giving Liberty to some very idle and dissolute men to go and Trade in the Indian Settlements 600 or 800 miles from us where they commit many Enormities & Injustices is a great Obstruction to our best designs. I have tried to get some free Indians to live with me and wou'd Cloath them but they will not consent to it, nor part with their Children tho' they lead miserable poor lives. It is reported by some of our Inhabitants lately gone [on] an Indian Trading that they excite them to make War amongst themselves to get Slaves which they give for our European Goods. I fear it is but too true that the Slaves we have for necessary Service, (for our White Servants in a Months time prove good for nothing at all) are the price of [a] great many Sins. I pray that they may not be imputed to us.²⁵

In some of his letters, Le Jau recounted conversations with the Indians. "I spoke lately to a Chief Indian of our friends that live in our settlement and taking pains to make myself be understood by him about the State of the Soul after Death

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 19, Feb. 3, 1708.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 125, Sept. 15, 1708.

and the duty of Prayer," he wrote. "I had the Consolation to be apprehended by him, with his Promise for him and his subjects to receive my Instructions. I am sure if the Old ones don't improve much for the present that the Young ones will in time be the better for it." "Whereas the Indians used to murder one another frequently," he observed, "it is us now."²⁶

Shortly afterwards, Le Jau forwarded a report that Negro and Indian slaves had not been sent to him for instruction, notwithstanding his offer to set apart a time for the same. He refused to get discouraged, however, and promised to use all manner of means to save their souls. The free Indians gradually found their way to his door, probably more attracted by his benevolence than by the saving gospel. On the 1st of February, 1710, he wrote that several of them were coming to see him, when they fixed their abode nearby, "for they are perpetually changing places to get food, having no provisions laid up." These contacts were regarded by the earnest missionary as full of possibilities. "Could we make them capable to understand what is meant by words commonly used by us when we speak of Religion we wou'd find them others than We imagine; or could we understand their meaning: As they grow acquainted and familiar and can trust to one, they disclose surprising things."

Le Jau had even begun to suspect some remote connection between the Indians and the ancient Hebrews. He had heard of something like circumcision practiced among them; the Indians had a dance, from which women were excluded, because they held that there was a time when man was made alone and there was no woman; and there was a legend strikingly similar to the story of God's forming woman from Adam's rib.²⁷

After talking seriously to the Indians, Le Jau felt convinced that they were forgetting their traditions as Christianity was being introduced. "They keep their Festivals and can tell but little of the reason." The Indians seemed to be retreating before the advance of the white man.

Many are gone further up in the Country thro' badd usage they received from some of Our People, & dayly Complaints come of the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 91, Nov. 15, 1708.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 98, Feb. 1, 1710.

Cruelty and Injustice of our Indian Traders; no longer than 3 Months ago, one of those Traders caused a poor Indian Woman a Slave of his to be Scalped within two Miles of my house, she lived 2 or 3 days in that miserable Condition and was found dead in the Woods; the History is as true as dreadful.²⁸

Le Jau consulted with the agent for the Indian trade, concerning the best way of converting the Indians to Christianity. He was desirous of neglecting no opportunity, and the agent suggested to him that if two young single men with a disposition to learn the Creek language (which was understood all over the southern part of the settlement) would trust themselves into the hands of the Yemassee, they would be treated with great respect and affection.²⁹ Apparently nothing ever resulted from this plan.

On the 27th of May, 1712, Le Jau addressed the Lord Bishop of London in behalf of the Yemassee Indians and the Negro slaves. He called attention to the special need of clergymen among the former.

The Indian traders have always discouraged me by raising a world of Difficulties when I proposed any thing to them relating to the Conversion of the Indians. It appears they do not care to have Clergymen so near them who doubtless would never approve those perpetual wars they promote amongst the Indians for the onely reason of making slaves to pay for their trading goods; and what slaves! poor women and children; for the men taken prisoners are burnt most barbarously. I am Informd It was done So this Last year, & the women and children were brought among us to be sold.³⁰

Poor Le Jau! He was an idealist in a new land, where men were bent on quick returns and gave little time to reflection; he sought to win the sympathy of men of primitive mould, in whom the sense of universal brotherhood had never been aroused. The trader looked on the Indian as lawful prey; to exploit him to the utmost was his privilege and should awaken no surprise or protest.

The Indian War of 1715 was the finishing touch. Le Jau could plead for the downtrodden Indian and appeal to the conscience of the settlers till he found himself breathless, but his words would fall on deaf ears. The red man stood discredited—a murderer, a public enemy; the white man felt no obligation towards him, and thought of him as a dangerous

²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 120, June 12, 1710.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 436-437, Aug. 30, 1712.

³⁰ Fulham MSS., South Carolina, No. 10.

foe or an ungrateful wretch. Those whose relatives had been brutally slain, those who had seen their homes destroyed and their lands laid waste, those who felt their lives in peril, were incapable of weighing the wrongs which the Indian might have sustained and could not share his feelings. Le Jau was still zealous for the evangelization of the natives, after the close of the war, but his strength was gone and he had but a few months to live.

In reviewing the good missionary's work among the Indians, there are several points to note. In the first place, it was entirely gratuitous; Le Jau was not compelled by the terms of his employment to try to convert the red men, and his labors were purely altruistic. He had great difficulty in establishing intimate relations with the Indians, but he improved such opportunities as he had, by learning all that he could about their habits and beliefs. He was anxious to conduct regular instruction for their benefit, but the roving habits of the natives, the opposition of the white traders, and the catastrophe of 1715 rendered such a course impossible. Le Jau's efforts may be looked upon as showing foresight and vision far ahead of the time, but out of this noble gesture little resulted of a tangible nature.

In his work among the Negroes, Le Jau had many discouraging experiences, but he made better headway. Soon after his arrival, he reported that they were generally very bad men, especially those that had been taught; and he had resolved to baptize none of them except "such as lead a Christian life" and of whom he had a "good testimony."⁸¹ With his naïve idealism, he expected to find the slaveowners solicitous over the spiritual welfare of their dependents, and it was a painful revelation to encounter not merely indifference on their part but positive opposition to his efforts to impart Christian instruction to the Negro. In this matter, South Carolina was not unique; in all the colonies where there were slaves, the idea had become prevalent that baptism would automatically free them. Hence, human nature being the sordid thing that it so often shows itself, the clergy had a difficult time winning the master's consent and co-operation. Property rights were concrete realities; the implications of the Golden Rule could bide their time.

⁸¹ S. P. G., Ser. A, Vol. III, No. 141, Apr. 15, 1707.

When Le Jau observed the low sexual standards of the black race, he was driven to wonder whether the white man was really not responsible. "I am sure we cou'd prevent all those evils if we wou'd take pains about it," he said; "but Masters are content if their slaves labour much and cost them little trouble and charges." It is probable, he suggested, that the more enlightened race must "answer for grievous sins daily Committed by all our Slaves here and elsewhere, and tollerated or at least Connived at by us under a pretence of Impossibility to remedy them."⁸²

Le Jau had not long been in his new field before several Negroes applied to him for baptism; but he felt that he should wait until he had proof of their good character from the testimony of their masters.⁸³ At first he did not seem to suspect that the people would fail to support him in his efforts to teach the slaves, but he at length realized the bitter truth, and it caused him much anxiety. Thus he wrote, February 18, 1709:

Since the beginning of December last I took a particular day in the Week and invited the Children Servants, and Slaves to come to be instructed in the Church, leaving to the discretion of the Parents and Masters to send such of their families as they cou'd spare, by turns, and whom they thought best disposed; I am sorry I can give no satisfactory Account of Success in that particular, perhaps it will be better in time. I thank God I have the Testimony of my Conscience for what I have said and done in Order to prevent Evil and do good. . . . I am not blamed openly, for all honest People stand with me; but it seems by their Whispers & Conduct they woud not have me urge of Contributing to the Salvation, Instruction, and human usage of Slaves and free Indians.⁸⁴

A month later, Le Jau bewailed the fact that Negro and Indian slaves had not been sent to him for instruction, notwithstanding his offer to set apart a time for the same.

I will not be discouraged but will take all opportunities and will use all manner of means as God pleases to enable me to serve those poor souls.

Several sensible and sober Slaves have asked me also to be baptised and marryed according to the form of our holy Church. I cou'd not comply with their desire without the Consent of their Masters, but I

⁸² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 125, Sept. 15, 1708.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, No. 91, Nov. 15, 1708.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 101, Feb. 18, 1709.

have exhorted them to perseverance and patience. I also humbly desire to be directed therein: the Masters are unwilling most of them.

In this letter he complained that "many Masters can't be persuaded that Negroes and Indians are otherwise than Beasts, and use them like such. I endeavour to let them know better things."³⁵

In a few months, Le Jau was sufficiently convinced of the earnestness of certain Negroes to justify him in baptizing them. His cautiousness affords an interesting contrast to the haste which missionaries have often shown in admitting converts who possessed little preparation or knowledge. In his letter to the Society, October 20, 1709, he alluded to the prevailing feeling that baptism would emancipate the slaves. So persistent was this idea that letters were despatched from London on the subject, and special laws were passed in certain colonies, in order to assure the slaveowner that there was no ground for apprehension. Le Jau, in his anxiety to gain the masters' consent, drew up a declaration which adult slaves assumed at baptism; furthermore, to strike at the root of an all too prevalent moral scandal, he required a specific pledge, as we shall see. This letter is very interesting, and should be read because of the light it throws on contemporary conditions.

On Sunday next I design God willing to baptise two very sensible and honest Negro Men whom I have kept under tryal these two years. Several others have spoken to me also; I do nothing too hastily in that respect, I instruct them and must have the consent of their Masters with a good Testimony and proof of their honest life and sober Conversation; Some Masters in my parish are very well satisfied with my proceedings in that respect; others do not seem to be so; yet they have given over opposing my design openly; it is to be hoped the good Example of the one will have an influence over the others. I must do the Justice to my Parishioners that tho' many Young Gentlemen are Masters of Great Estates, they and almost all the heads of all our Neighbouring families are an Example of Sobriety, honesty & Zeal for the Service of the Church to all the province.

To remove all pretence from the Adult Slaves I shall baptise of their being free upon that Account I have thought fit to require first their consent to this following declaration/ *You declare in the presence of God and before this Congregation that you do not ask for the holy baptism out of any design to free yourself from the Duty and Obedience you owe to your Master while you live, but merely for the good of*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 142, Mar. 22, 1709.

Your Soul and to partake of the Graces and Blessings promised to the Members of the Church of Jesus Christ.

One of the most Scandalous and common Crimes of our Slaves, is their perpetual Changing of Wives and husbands, which occasions great disorders: I also tell them whom I baptise, *The Christian Religion does not allow plurality of Wives, nor any changing of them; You promise truly to keep to the Wife you now have till Death dos part you.*

I[t] has been Customary among them to have their feasts, dances, and merry Meetings upon the Lord's day, that practice is pretty well over in this Parish, but not absolutely; I tell them that present themselves to be admitted to Baptism, they must promise they'l spend no more of the Lord's day in idleness, and if they do I'l cut them off from ye Communion.

Le Jau noted the fervent spirit of some of the slaves.⁸⁶

In one of his letters, Le Jau described his method of religious instruction. After his Sunday service, the Negroes and Indian slaves were invited to stay for half an hour. In 1710, he was able to report that about fifty of them remained.

We begin and end Our particular Assembly with the Collect prevent us O Lord & I teach 'em the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and the Commandments; I explain some portion of the Catechism. I give them an entire Liberty to ask questions I endeavour to proportion my answers and all my Instructions to their want and Capacity; I must acknowledge that the hand of God dos visibly appear on this particular occasion, I had often attempted and proposed a time, a Method and means easy, as I thought, for the Instruction of those poor Souls, but all in vain, till this last was put in my mind by special mercy, the Most Pious among their Masters stay also and hear; others not so zealous wou'd find fault, if possible, their Murmuring sometimes reach my Ears, but I am not discouraged.

He felt that his habit of doing nothing without the masters' consent had brought fruit, as certain of them had at last been brought around to recognize the benefits to be derived from the instruction of their slaves. In fact, the slaves were found to render better service, "and do better for their Masters profit than formerly, for they are taught to serve out of Christian Love & Duty; they tell me openly that they will ever bless God for their knowing good things which they knew not before." Thinking it would prevent "horrid Crimes and Confusions among Negroes and Indian Slaves for the future," Le Jau proposed to some of the masters that none of those slaves at present unmarried presume to marry without

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 49, Oct. 20, 1709.

their masters consent, and that those already married should have similar consent before separating.³⁷

The good efforts among the Negroes bore fruits in a new interest in Christianity. Sickness caused Le Jau to give up his regular Sunday instruction; but he found that the slaves were "sincerely desirous to do well, for they come constantly all of them near and about the Windows of our Church, which cannot contain them when the parishioners are met, and behave themselves very devoutly."³⁸ Sometimes forty or more attended church services.

Le Jau's ardor was considerably dampened when he learned the strong prejudice that lurked in the minds of some of his people. One lady had asked, "Is it possible that any of my slaves could go to heaven, and must I see them there?" A certain young gentleman had remarked some time before that he would never partake of the holy communion where slaves also received the sacrament.³⁹ In spite of all Le Jau's pains to emphasize the co-operation which he received from the owners of slaves, one cannot read his letters without suspecting that he was carrying most of the burden alone and with little help or sympathy. The members of the pioneer community were engrossed in their own affairs, and the hard exactions of a new and strange country crowded out some of the finer emotions.

When an epidemic of sickness began to sweep the country in August, 1711, Le Jau felt that the visitation was a sign of God's anger because of the barbarous usage to which the Indians and the Negroes had been subjected. He dwelt on this theory in his sermons, and he kept hoping that the calamities would bring the masters to their senses. A law had been enacted in the province before his coming, providing for the mutilation of runaway slaves; he busied himself opposing its execution. He found that some of the masters had invented contrivances whereby to torture their slaves as punishment, and in one of his letters to the Society he gave a description of one of the devices.⁴⁰

Le Jau had great confidence in the reality of the Negroes' conversion.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 120, June 12, 1710.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 141, July 14, 1710.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 142, Sept. 18, 1711.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 395-396.

It is a singular comfort to me to see that while so many professed Christians appear but Lukewarm, it pleases God to raise to himself faithfull and devout Servts from among the heathens, who are very zealous in ye Practice of our Christian duties. I have no Complaining of our Proselytes, their masters commend them for their faithfullness, and from what I am going to relate, the Honble Society should have a satisfactory instance that their Pious designs are not fruitless.

Then the minister proceeded to relate that there had been an uprising among some of the Negroes, due to the agitation of a slave brought from Martinique; the revolt had been suppressed.

There has not been so much as one of our Goose Creek Negroes accused of having knowledge of the Plot, far from having consented to so great a Crime. The most sensible of our Slaves whom I have admitted to the holy Sacraments have solemnly protested to me that if ever they hear of any Ill design of the Slaves I shall know it from them that it may be prevented, and I can't but depend upon the truth of their words.⁴¹

The Indian war was not without its salutary lessons, and many of the white people were inclined to attribute the awful scourging they had received to their own neglect. On March 19, 1716, Le Jau was able to report that he had baptized six Negro youths, they being presented for the sacrament by their own mistress. "The two biggest were able to give a Satisfactory and Edifying account of the Christian faith, the rest were Infants." The masters were better inclined to have their Negroes christened. "Terrible Judgments we have felt make a good Impression upon some Persons," he said; while the baptized and instructed Negroes have behaved themselves "so as to disarm and silence Envy itself. They prayed, and read some part of their Bibles in the field and in their Quarters, in the hearing of those who could not read; and took no notice of some Profane men who laught at their Devotion."⁴²

To the end of his active ministry, Francis Le Jau was assured that he had begun a good work, so far as the conversion of the Negro was concerned. It is believed that he was not far wrong. He approached his task in sincerity and zeal, and persevered in the face of indifference and opposition. He deserves to be remembered as a man who remained loyal to his convictions and labored tirelessly for the welfare of others.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 257-260, Jan. 22, 1714.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Ser. B, Vol. IV, No. 58, Mar. 19, 1716.

Economic Benefits of Secession: Opinions in Mississippi in the 1850s

By P. L. RAINWATER

Although expansion in the United States has been fundamentally national rather than sectional in character, particular sections have frequently been more intent than the nation as a whole for the acquisition of territory. An instance in point is the South in the decade after 1850. Her appetite for expansion into Mexico and the Caribbean region, for instance, increased in direct proportion to the preponderance of political power in the hands of the "Black Republicans" pledged to oppose further extension of slavery. In Mississippi, the desire to expand to the southward seems to have been motivated by the feeling that slavery was forever shut out of the existing territories of the United States and that if slavery were extended at all, it would have to advance in that direction. During the presidential campaign of 1860, and immediately afterwards, one of the arguments used in Mississippi for immediate secession was that such a course offered the only hope of the extension of slavery into Mexico and the Caribbean region and the only guarantee for perpetuating the social and economic system of the South. In the fifties, practically all the opinion-forming agencies in the state were united in the view that the future of the institution depended upon its extension to the southward, and that a southern confederacy, once independent, would come to "rival Rome in its palmy days."¹ For two years before the election of Lincoln, agitation for expansion was intense.

The several steps in the attainment of such national grandeur, a Natchez paper suggested, included (1) expansion into Mexico, Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean, (2) reopening of the African slave trade, (3) establishment of free trade, and (4) the development of a system of internal improvements, especially railroads, which would tap all the agricultural areas of the state and connect them with commercial cities on the Gulf whose harbors

¹ *Natchez Free Trader*, Nov. 24, 1860.

would be the "anchorage and the trysting places of the fleets of commerce."²

On January 5, 1858, the *Natchez Free Trader* urged the necessity of a strong national policy with reference to Central American affairs.

We must [said the editor] abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, we must authorize the President to carry out the stipulations of the treaty with Nicaragua. These two steps will inaugurate our southward movement with dignity and success. If England or France protest against it, and endeavour to stop us in our national path, we must defy them at once. We have been humbugged long enough with the Elliotts in Texas, the Pakenhams in Mexico, the Chatfields, Wykes and Mannings in Central America.

The editor asserted that if Congress and the executive branch of the government did not adopt a more aggressive policy in Central America, the "people will do it and any attempt to suppress them in their action will only lead to bitter sectional strife and dissensions." William Barksdale, addressing a "Jackson Democratic Association" in Washington, declared that the "whole unbounded continent is ours." He wanted Cuba, and although not strictly a Walker man, he wanted Nicaragua—"in fact the whole of Central America."³ L. Q. C. Lamar was in favor of expansion into Central America because he wanted to see "American Liberty with southern institutions planted upon every inch of American soil." He thought the institutions of the South "give us the highest

² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1858. The *Natchez Free Trader* seems to have led the press of the state in championing the cause of southern expansion along the lines indicated. From February to May, 1858, the following "Prospectus" had a continuous run in the first column of the editorial page of that paper:

1. The immediate organization of the militia as contemplated in the constitution and the laws.
2. The sovereignty of the State.
3. Building of railroads, trunks, and branches, uniting all the cities, towns, and villages of the South by one common and indissoluble bond.
4. The encouragement of Southern colleges and schools.
5. The fostering of Southern literature and the earnest support of Southern journals.
6. The creation of a Southern marine and the establishment of direct trade.
7. The building up and the sustaining of Southern factories, foundries, and manufactures.
8. The protectorate over Mexico.
9. The Southern Republicanization of Central America.
10. The annexation of Cuba and the isles of the Gulf.
11. Equality in the Union or the Independence of the Southern United States of America.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1858. Like sentiments were expressed by Barksdale in speech to the people of Carroll County, in the *Mississippian*, Sept. 28, 1859.

type of civilization known to modern times." Lamar asserted that territorial acquisitions from Mexico "have been to the South like the far-famed fruit which grows upon the shores of the accursed sea, beautiful to sight but dust and ashes to the lips." Hence, before he would consent to "any new schemes of territorial acquisition, to be effected, as usual, by the prowess of southern arms, and the contribution of southern blood and treasure, I desire the question of the south's right to extend her institutions into territory already within the Union, practically and satisfactorily settled by the Legislation of this Congress."⁴ In his speech at Hazelhurst, September 11, 1858, Senator A. G. Brown assumed that Mississippians were interested in planting slave states in Central America. "If we want Central America, the cheapest, easiest, and quickest way is to go and take it, and if France and England interfere, read the Monroe Doctrine to them." There should be no more scruples, he said, about taking desired territory to the southward than there was in taking a large part of Mississippi from the "Choctaws and the Chickasaws." He frankly admitted that he believed that "slavery must go South if it goes at all" and that he wanted possession of Central America "to plant slavery there." He thought slavery was of divine origin; a good thing *per se*; a great moral and social blessing, both to the master and to the slave; and he thought it should be extended with missionary zeal "like the religion of the Divine Master to the uttermost ends of the earth." He thought William Walker was "doing a good service and ought to have been let alone."⁵

⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. I, 279, Jan. 13, 1858.

⁵ M. W. Cluskey, *Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of the Honorable Albert Gallatin Brown* (Philadelphia, 1859), 588-599. Brown made similar statements in a speech at Tammany Hall, New York City, a report of which appears in the *Natchez Free Trader*, Mar. 20, 1859.

Speech of O. R. Singleton, *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. IV, Appendix, 53, Dec. 19, 1859. "... how are we to preserve the institution of slavery? There is but one mode by which, in my humble judgment, it can be perpetuated for any considerable number of years. We may fail in that, but certainly it is the surest chance offered us to preserve it. That mode is by expansion, and that expansion must be in the direction of Mexico. At present there is no settled government there. It is, to all intents and purposes, defunct; and we have the right to the exclusion of all others, to administer upon the estate; and when we have wound it up, there being no better heirs than ourselves, we will be compelled to hold that territory. That will afford us an outlet for slavery. There is in Mexico a large extent of territory that is suited to the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and rice. In my opinion we must, and we are compelled to, expand in that direction, and thus perpetuate it—a hundred or a thousand years it may be."

William Walker himself, in June, 1858, came to Mississippi. He spoke at Aberdeen in the interest of securing assistance for the recovery of power in Nicaragua. The editor of the *Prairie News*, who heard and reported the speech of the "hero", declared that it

was singularly characterized by modesty, scarcely an allusion to himself was made, and he shows in words as he ever has done in action, his devotion to the South and her institutions. He closed his speech by appealing to the mothers of Mississippi, to bid their sons buckle on the armor of war, and battle for the institutions, for the honor of the Sunny South, and called upon the maidens of the land, who had lovers suing for favor, to smile on none until they should give active aid to the cause, not for himself but for the cause of Nicaragua's freedom to the cause of the South.

The citizens of Aberdeen looked with such favor upon the filibuster's scheme that they "resolved to raise ten thousand dollars to assist General Walker to recover possession of Nicaragua."⁶

Two of the resolutions introduced by John J. McRae at the Southern Convention at Vicksburg, May 8-10, 1859, dealt with the desirability of absorbing the territory southward to the Isthmus. The first declared that "the interests and necessity of the South, as well as the entire country, require the permanent ascendancy of the United States in the Gulf of Mexico, and to insure this end, the Gulf must be made an American sea, and the Isthmian transits to the Pacific, placed under American control." The second favored the immediate acquisition of Cuba, the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and the Americanization of Central America. These resolutions were approved by the convention, though ex-Senator Walker Brooke of Vicksburg denounced such sentiments "as disgraceful to the American people and contrary to the law of nations."⁷

J. P. Pryor, newspaper editor of Vicksburg and Memphis and political friend of Douglas, inquired of the Illinois senator what steps he proposed to bring about the consummation of territorial acquisition in the Caribbean region. Pryor in-

⁶ *Prairie News*, July 1, 15, 1858.

⁷ *Natchez Free Trader*, May 21, 1859; Herbert Wender, *The Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XLVIII, No. 4 (Baltimore, 1930), 230. Speeches of John J. McRae at Natchez, *Natchez Courier*, Sept. 22, 1859; at Terry, *Natchez Free Trader*, June 24, 1859; at Enterprise, *ibid.*, July 2, 1859.

formed Douglas that the "acquisition of Cuba is a question in which your friends in this region take an interest second only to that of 'Congressional non-intervention.'"⁸ A number of the county Democratic conventions, April-June, 1859, declared for expansion to the southward. The Lawrence County convention resolved that "we are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, by conquest or purchase, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must, as indemnity for the past and security for the future."⁹ Copiah County declared that the government ought to acquire Cuba because of its "proximity to our Southern territory." But if this were not "practicable . . . we would say to the filibusters God Speed."¹⁰ The Democratic state convention declared in its platform that the acquisition of Cuba was a "commercial and political necessity."¹¹

In 1860 when secession was a sharp issue in Mississippi, the Democratic press did not overlook the advantage to their cause of describing the opportunities which a southern confederacy, once formed, would have for extending its institutions to the southward. An editorial in the *Vicksburg Weekly Sun* in answer to the question, "Would the South be injured by a dissolution of the Union?" declared:

We verily believe that the overthrow of the Union would not only perpetuate slavery where it now exists and establish it more firmly, but would necessarily lead to its widespread extension. The Southern States once constituted as an independent Republic, the acquisition of Mexico, Central America, Cuba, San Domingo, and other West India Islands would follow as a direct and necessary result. It would not be in the power of the North to prevent it, unless by an appeal to arms terminating in the subjugation of the South, and we presume that Abolition fanaticism would hardly venture upon such a Quixotic experiment as that. In possession of the Gulf of Mexico and our institutions established upon what is now the free soil of Mexico the whole coast would be thrown open to slave emigration, while the Northern and Western States would be completely cut off from our present possessions in that quarter. California would speedily become a slave State. The enormous wealth she is now pouring into the lap of the North, would at once be withdrawn and become tributary to Southern prosperity and Southern power. While the Union lasts, it is in the

⁸ J. P. Pryor to S. A. Douglas, Aug. 31, 1859, Douglas Letters, University of Chicago Library.

⁹ *Natchez Free Trader*, May 28, 1859.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1859.

¹¹ Proceedings of the Democratic state convention, *ibid.*, July 8, 1859.

power of the Northern majority to confine slavery to such territory as we already possess. She will exercise that power. Of course no sane man believes that another slave State will ever be admitted into the Union. If they see proper the dominant majority in Congress—and this they would certainly do—can prevent the annexation of Mexico and Cuba, and other territories where slavery now exists and would be likely to go. Dissolve the Union, however, and the case is altered. The South would then be free to carry, without let or hindrance, her institutions far beyond the limits to which they must be confined under our present form of government. In the Union the South cannot expand beyond her present limits; out of it she can extend her institutions over Mexico, Cuba, San Domingo and other West India Islands and California, and thereby become the most powerful Republic that ever the sun shone upon.¹²

The *Natchez Free Trader* was not less optimistic than the *Vicksburg Sun* about the future of the South. The *Free Trader* agreed enthusiastically with the *New York Herald* that should a southern confederacy be formed, the entire region down to the Isthmus would be absorbed. Then the confederacy would have "a vast territory, rich in natural wealth, and holding the monopoly of the cotton, sugar and tobacco trade of the world." It would have "rich gold mines, silver, copper, iron, coal, fine seaports, and a great foreign trade. Then the Gulf of Mexico will be simply a Southern lake, to be whitened with thousands of Southern sails." Mexico, with the Anglo-Saxon race to govern it and the African race—which would "thrive wonderfully under Mexican skies—to till the soil and work the mines would rise like a new Phoenix from her ashes." Such, according to the *Free Trader*, was the "happy future of the great Republic of the Southern United States" which would, in a "not far distant day, stand foremost in the ranks of the first powers of the world, totally eclipsing in might, consequence, and grandeur any nation now or hereafter existing on this continent, if not in this hemisphere."¹³

In view of the resplendent future of a southern confederacy, as depicted by the Democratic press and by secession orators, one is not surprised that A. C. Holt of Wilkinson County, during his canvass for the Convention of 1861, asserted that "with our rights fully guaranteed for all time, as

¹² Oct. 29, 1860.

¹³ Nov. 24, 1860.

they would be under a Southern Confederacy, there is no safer or better investment than land and negroes."¹⁴

One of the corollaries of expansion, in the interest of securing more slave territory, was the reopening of the African slave trade. The *Natchez Free Trader* announced, February 2, 1859, that it would advocate immediate opening. "Up with the African slave trade," said the editor, and "down with so much of the neutrality laws as give us masters for the expansion of the South." A year later the same editor had gathered momentum and enthusiasm on the subject and was warmly demanding that "the law declaring the slave trade 'piracy' be repealed." He asserted that

it is a matter of vital interest to the cotton producing States to have free slave trade for slaves. The doctrine of expansion is a nullity and a mockery without it. Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas require, at this moment, a million more laborers, and it is folly to talk of annexing Cuba, Mexico and Central America without free trade with Africa. Let the great work of evangelizing Africa and civilizing the negro commence. It is the order of Providence. It is the mission confided to us. And if Congress be deaf and blind to the appeal and the duty, let the State exercise its sovereign functions, and who dare say nay.¹⁵

The Southern Commercial Convention which met at Vicksburg in May, 1859, concerned itself, in the spirit of its predecessors at Montgomery, Alabama, with controversial political questions rather than with purely commercial problems. After approving the McRae resolutions for expansion into Mexico and Central America, the convention, by a vote of forty-four to nineteen, declared "that all laws, state or Federal, prohibiting the foreign slave trade ought to be repealed."¹⁶ I. M. Patridge, editor of the *Vicksburg Whig*,

¹⁴ A. C. Holt, *The Policy of Secession* (published pamphlet, n. d., in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.). Holt's speech of which the preceding was the title, was, at the request of a committee composed of Vincent Row, H. R. Davis, Thomas J. Henderson, Felix Embree, and C. Posey, printed in circular or pamphlet form and used as a campaign document in Wilkinson County during the campaign for the election of delegates to the Convention of 1861.

¹⁵ *Natchez Free Trader*, Feb. 5, 1859. Editorials in the *Free Trader* expressing similar views appeared in the issues for Feb. 16, Mar 3, 1858, Apr. 8, May 7, 18, and July 13, 1859. See also the *Vicksburg Weekly Sun*, May 13, Aug. 15, 1859. R. T. Archer, delegate from Claiborne County, said in the convention: "It is God's policy and man's policy to reopen the slave trade." See *Vicksburg Weekly Sun*, Aug. 15, 1859.

¹⁶ *Natchez Courier*, May 17, 1859. The vote was taken by states. The majority of the delegates from Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama voted aye—forty votes; Tennessee and Florida voted no—fifteen votes; and South Carolina was equally divided—four votes: See also Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions*, 230-234.

offered a protest against the action of the convention and when, by a large majority, the assembly upheld the decision of the chair that the protest was out of order, Patridge, H. S. Foote, and G. V. Moody resigned their seats and retired.

The Whig or Opposition party in Mississippi was a unit in opposing the reopening of the slave trade. This opposition seems to have been based upon principle and not mere party policy. An organization was formed to combat the movement which, in the view of the Whigs, was mere agitation for the dissolution of the Union. On May 21, 1859, a mass meeting of those in Warren and adjacent counties who were opposed to the reopening of the African slave trade, was held in Apollo Hall, Vicksburg. Foote called the meeting to order and M. C. Folkes, mayor of Vicksburg, presided. At this meeting a permanent organization was effected, consisting of William L. Sharkey, president; W. C. Smedes of Warren and Thomas S. Dabney of Hinds, vice-presidents; and A. G. Mayers of Rankin and W. W. Cowan of Warren, secretaries. Whig orators, among them Foote, Patridge, Smedes, and Sharkey, denounced the "Agitators" for their advocacy of such an "impolitic, unwise, and ruinous" program as the reopening of the trade. In his speech at Yazoo City, Foote summed up the argument against it. He declared that the importation of slaves from Africa would lead to an overproduction of cotton and of slaves. He pointed out that the present rate of natural increase of slaves was such as to double their number in twenty-three and a half years and that if local interest demanded more slaves than natural increase provided, they "could be easily obtained from Virginia and Maryland, and other slave-breeding States." Furthermore, to import "thousands, and perhaps millions of wild and savage Africans" to be infused into "our slave population will greatly retard their advancement in moral and religious culture, diminish their happiness and inevitably degrade both masters and slaves; altogether uprooting the present kindly relations existing between these classes making a more rigid and penal discipline indispensable, and involving the white population in danger of being demoralized and brutalized."¹⁷

¹⁷ With reference to Whig opposition to the reopening of the foreign slave trade, see the following: *Natchez Courier*, May 14, 27, June 13, 14, 15, 1859; *Prairie News*, Mar. 25, 1858, July 21, 1859.

Those who had control of the Democratic party machinery in Mississippi in 1859 were opposed to the agitation for reopening the slave trade. This opposition was, however, based entirely upon party policy and not at all upon any principle of humanity. "If we had considered the purposes of humanity alone," said Jefferson Davis, "we should have continued it [the foreign slave trade] indefinitely."¹⁸ Davis was in favor of the repeal of that part of the act of 1820 which declared the foreign slave trade to be piracy, because "it is offensive to us and mischievous in its effects and tendencies." He favored, as did the rest of the Mississippi delegation in Congress in 1859—except John J. McRae, who wanted all Federal laws on the subject repealed—a modification of the law of 1819. He objected to that part of it which required the president to return slaves taken aboard ships on the high seas. He advocated likewise the abrogation of the treaty which required the United States, in conjunction with England and France, to keep a squadron on the coast of Africa for police purposes.¹⁹ Had the Federal laws and treaties on the subject been thus modified or changed, there can be little doubt that the result would have amounted to a virtual reopening of the African slave trade.²⁰

¹⁸ Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Naval Appropriation bill, June 18, 1860, in Dunbar Rowland, (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Papers, Letters and Speeches* (Jackson, Miss., 1923), IV, 520 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ For an analysis of the statutes undertaking to regulate the slave trade, see W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York, 1904), 94-105, 118-123. Under the construction which the United States placed upon the right of visitation and search, a slaver, if captured at all, would not likely be intercepted before reaching some southern port. Offenders would, therefore, be tried before juries with decided leanings in favor of the defendant. Conviction would be difficult. Jefferson Davis himself admitted the truth of this statement when, in his speech on the Naval Appropriation bill, cited above, he said that one engaged in the illicit African slave trade would never be convicted on a charge of "Piracy" in a region "where men consider it no offense to buy an African slave and sell him to another."

On March 3, 1858, the editor of the *Natchez Free Trader* declared that he had it upon "indisputable" evidence which was "authenticated by the operators" themselves, that the African slave trade was in operation in the South. According to the "information" vouchsafed to the editor of the *Free Trader*: "We may estimate a cargo to number seven hundred negroes. None purchased should be over twenty-five years of age. Seven hundred at an average cost of thirty dollars apiece, will amount to twenty-one thousand dollars, and their price in this country or Cuba will range from twelve hundred and fifty to fourteen hundred dollars. But if sold for five hundred dollars, say, the cargo will net three hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the entire expense of the voyage, and all possible loss, the profits of one round

Fear of dividing the party and distracting the entire South at a time when harmony was important, led all the Democrats, except the most ultra, to abandon the agitation for the repeal of Federal laws prohibiting the slave trade. Those who had despaired of the existing Union and who had become secessionists *per se* kept up the agitation. The *Columbus Democrat* deprecated the agitation of the slave trade question, declaring that "no one can believe for a moment" that it could be reopened "while the Union lasts. Do not its advocates desire its dissolution above all things?"²¹ The *Eastern Clarion* expressed the spirit of most of the Democratic newspapers of the state, when it said:

The question is not properly to be argued upon economical considerations, as its advocates would have us do. However, it may be regarded in this light, that does not touch the inquiry which has first to be met—that inquiry is whether the people of the South regard the re-opening of the African slave trade as a matter of sufficient importance to dissolve the Union in order to effect it. It amounts in fact to a proposition to dissolve the Union, for the purpose of importing Africans into the South. Nobody can possibly believe that the trade can be legalized IN the Union, and if the South should become united in favor of the traffic and proceed to authorize it, a contest with the federal government would be produced which could only end in dissolution. The question then, boiled down, is as we have stated. It is not surprising that the *per se* disunionists should advocate the measure. We regard the agitation of the project at this time as extremely unfortunate. It will strengthen the Abolitionists and endanger the Presidential election. It divides the South when she has need to stand as one man in view of the darkening future which lies before her. It is to all intents and purposes an impractical question so long as our present confederacy exists, and its agitation can result only in mischief.²²

voyage will amount to two hundred thousand dollars. Where the profits are so exorbitant, we can well understand why the business has been begun in the South."

C. S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933), 142, says that "native Africans were rarely found" in Mississippi in 1860.

Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 178-187, represents the African slave trade for the period 1850-1860, as being very extensive.

²¹ *Natchez Courier*, June 14, 1859, quoting *Columbus Democrat*.

²² *Prairie News*, June 9, 1859, quoting the *Clarion*. The *Mississippian* argued against making the revival of the African slave trade an issue in the next presidential campaign. Quoted in *Natchez Free Trader*, June 18, 1859. See resolutions to the same effect in the Democratic convention of Claiborne County, *Natchez Free Trader*, June 22, 1859.

H. J. Harris to Jefferson Davis, June 7, 1859: "You may have noticed that in the Southern Convention, I voted against repealing the laws against reopening the slave trade. It was a bitter pill to vote with Foote; but I honestly thought the democratic party would be destroyed by the agitation of the question *at the time*; and hence my position." Rowland, (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist*, IV, 56.

According to the *Clarion*, the South could "find better grounds" upon which to "make the issue of disunion" than the reopening of the African slave trade. In this spirit the Democratic party leaders of the state discouraged further agitation of the question and focused their attention upon those issues which were finally to disrupt the party at Charleston.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the majority of the Democrats in the state to prevent further agitation of the troublesome question, a bill to repeal the state law against the introduction of Africans into Mississippi was presented to the lower house of the legislature in January, 1860. It was defeated.²³

The movement in the South for commercial, financial, and social independence was synchronized with the shift of political power into the hands of the free states. Laboring under the mistaken idea that the growing wealth of the North was attributable to discriminatory legislation by Congress, in one form or another, against the South, a number of Southern Commercial Conventions were held at intervals from 1837 to 1859. All of these conventions stressed the great importance to the South of a system of free trade. They were void, however, of tangible results other than to convince the South that her economic interests were separate and distinct from those of the North and that her commerce was prevented from being distributed through its natural channels by the "unequal action of the federal government." In short, they played an important rôle in convincing the majority of the southern people by 1860 that the Union was an economic liability to the South.²⁴

"If the Union were dissolved tomorrow," said the *Natchez Free Trader*, March 3, 1858, "it is probable that ninety-nine one hundredths of the population of the Southern states would never know the fact, except by a lessening of taxation and a general improvement of trade." The editor declared that the South was paying "fifty millions a year for Northern guardianship." He assured his readers that in the event of a dissolution, "the geographical position and the agricultural products of the Southern States" would cement

²³ Vicksburg *Whig*, Jan. 28, 1860; Natchez *Courier*, Feb. 3, 1860.

²⁴ Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions*, 171, 207, 235, 236.

the bonds of everlasting peace not only with all Europe but also with the North. Disunion, according to the *Free Trader*, would not disrupt "legitimate, peaceful and friendly trade, nor anything else except an old onerous, wornout, superannuated system of external government machinery." James Drane of Choctaw County, a small slaveholder and president of the Mississippi Senate from 1857 to 1865, regarded the Union as a "losing partnership to the South, and it is a matter of calculation whether we of the South ought longer to continue it in the midst of losses and abuses."²⁵ The *Natchez Free Trader*, April 13, 1858, argued that disunion would improve the commercial position of the South. The editor pointed out that southern port cities, especially New Orleans would, in case of disunion, flourish as never before. The editor said:

A dissolution of the present union would make New Orleans in five years what New York is now, and while the former increased in financial grandeur and wealth, the latter would decrease correspondingly. . . . A dissolution would make New Orleans the chief importing as well as exporting city of the continent, for the very good and sufficient reason that she alone would be able to pay for her imports with her exports, possessing as she does, and would, more than half of the cotton export trade. . . . The horns of the crescent would be filled with repletion with the products of all climes under the sun, and her commercial supremacy would not be questioned by any rival mart on the surface of the globe.²⁶

In the exciting period from the election of Lincoln to the secession of the state, the press did not fail to stress, along with the many other desirable results that would accrue from a dissolution, the establishment of free trade. Said the *Free Trader*:

Ere the 4th of March next the signs of the times are that a Southern Confederacy will be formed and the principle of *Free Trade* will be

²⁵ James Drane to W. S. Goodwin of Concord, New Hampshire, May 10, 1858, in *Natchez Free Trader*, June 26, 1858.

²⁶ It seems that the voters of New Orleans were not influenced in the presidential election of 1860 by the resplendent future which some editors predicted for the city in the event of a dissolution of the Union. According to the *True Delta* (New Orleans), Nov. 7, 1860, the combined vote in the city for Bell and Douglas, both of whom were opposing secession, was more than three to one greater than for Breckinridge, the secession candidate. The *True Delta* gives the vote as follows: Bell, 5219 votes; Douglas, 2998; Breckinridge, 2645. The editor thought the election in New Orleans was a great defeat for "Slidellism." He said that the secession element exercised intimidation and paraded the ruffian element to such an extent that the city polled only about two-thirds of its actual strength.

established. Then will the North, prostrate in the dust, too keenly feel what a precious jewel they have parted with, never to be regained. The South needs no Custom House and will thrive on Free Trade as she never can without it.²⁷

Colonel W. A. Ward of Enterprise, Clarke County, who was an ardent secessionist and apparently very influential in the eastern counties of the state, declared, November 30, 1860, in a letter addressed to "My fellow citizens of Clarke":

Here is the matter in a nutshell: let Mississippi disconnect herself from all those who would oppress her; she has wealth and intelligence; she has a capacious harbor to export and receive in return a just and equivalent remuneration for her vast productions. We can trade direct with Europe, ship our cotton there, the merchant can afford to give us more for it and sell to us cheaper than the Northern merchants can; the farmer will have no extravagant duties to pay as he does now, and a large proportion of which goes to the support of those who are unfriendly to slave labor.²⁸

Railroad building was an integral part of the program for commercial independence in Mississippi. Colin S. Tarpley, a pioneer of the movement in the state, began agitation in 1848 for a railroad connecting Jackson and New Orleans.²⁹ In the period from 1850 to 1860, the dream of Tarpley for a network of railroads connecting the interior portions with the river towns and with an outlet on the Gulf of Mexico was well advanced towards realization. By 1859, the Mobile and Ohio railroad, extending from Mobile along the eastern fringe of Mississippi to Corinth where it connected with the Memphis and Charleston railroads, was completed. Other railroads complete and in operation in Mississippi by 1859, were the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern; the

²⁷ Nov. 27, 1860.

²⁸ *Eastern Clarion*, Dec. 12, 1860. See editorial expressing similar views in the *Vicksburg Weekly Sun*, Feb. 20, 1860.

²⁹ *Natchez Free Trader*, June 17, 1858, says: "Ten years ago, when Col. Colin S. Tarpley of Jackson, Mississippi, one of the shrewdest, and most enterprising and public spirited men in our State, took the initiative in the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad, people were inclined to ridicule the idea and laugh at those who advocated the enterprise. But Tarpley wrote and spoke till a meeting was held at Monticello, where very considerable enthusiasm was manifested, the people awakening to a sense of the feasibility and importance of the move. An adjourned meeting was subsequently held in New Orleans, but it accomplished nothing, and the 'visionary schemers' with their scheme, were hooted at by the less sagacious and far-seeing sovereigns. But conscious that he was right, with views and purposes unchanged, and a determination not to 'give up the ship,' Colonel Tarpley persevered till finally capitalists became convinced of the merits and the importance of the work and heartily entered into it."

Mississippi Central; the Mississippi and Tennessee; and the Vicksburg and Meridian. The first named railroad had its northern terminus at Canton, joining there with the Mississippi Central, which traversed the counties of Madison, Yazoo, Holmes, Carroll, Yalobusha, Lafayette and Marshall, and intersected the Memphis and Charleston at Grand Junction, Tennessee. The Mississippi and Tennessee railroad formed a junction with the Mississippi Central at Grenada, and traversed the counties of Yalobusha, Panola, and De Soto, running to Memphis. Vicksburg and Meridian were connected by a railroad running across the state and forming a junction with the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern at Jackson and with the Mobile and Ohio at Meridian.³⁰

The immediate completion of the Gulf and Ship Island railroad, rechartered by the legislature in 1857 under new and liberal provisions, was proclaimed everywhere in the state in 1859 as being of paramount importance. This project was designed to form a connection with the other railroads of the state at Jackson and extend southward to Ship Island on the Gulf. It was to be the connecting link between them and "the merchant vessels at Ship Island." The *Natchez Free Trader* predicted that

the building of the Ship Island railroad will result in the building of a great commercial city on the coast, and it will lead to the establishment of a central direct trade with Europe and the other continents of which the South stands so much in need. . . . With a grand trunk railroad running down to her ocean washed shore, with a magnificent emporium lifting its lofty proportions upon her strand, with a splendid harbor thronged with the noble merchants of every nation carrying on the universal trade of exchange, Mississippi will indeed occupy a grand position in the galaxy of States. She will be completely individualized in her sovereignty, and will have nothing to fear from the muttered threatenings of wild sectional fanaticism.³¹

³⁰ Balthasar M. Myers and Caroline E. MacGill, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* (Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917), Plate 5. See also the *Natchez Free Trader*, Mar. 19, 1859.

³¹ Mar. 19, 1859. Editorials expressing similar views with reference to the projected Ship Island railroad are found in the *Natchez Free Trader*, June 15, 1858, Apr. 27, June 17, 1859.

At Carthage, Leake County, strong resolutions were unanimously adopted urging the early construction, "in view of American politics highly menacing to the Union," of the Gulf and Ship Island railroad, connecting "her unrivaled harbor at Ship Island with all parts of the State." The Carthage meeting pledged \$150,000 for the support of the project. See *ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1859.

The Democratic conventions in Harrison and Hancock counties, both of which were under the guidance of D. C. Glenn, adopted strong resolutions in favor of

The report of the Commissioners³² of the Gulf and Ship Island railroad which was made in June, 1858, pointed out that in the event of the secession of the state its first duty would be to render its harbor at Ship Island available by means of interior communications which would be at all times under the control of the state. The report urged that not only commercial considerations but also political contingencies rendered probable by the condition of the slavery question, should lead the Mississippi delegation in Congress to devote "some portion of their time and ability to maintaining those measures at home which will fit us to encounter the hazards of an event which will leave us to depend not so much upon the accuracy of our political doctrine, as upon our material resources." Alleging that no purely agricultural people ever attained a high position in the world, the Commissioners urged the building of railroads in order that there might be in the state a better balance between agriculture and commerce. This was necessary, they said, if the state were to maintain an independent position. The spirit and tone of the report is indicated in the following quotation:

It is manifest that the connection between the free and the slave states is not preserved by the strength of their attachment for each other. The antagonism between them not only exists in the most palpable form but is openly avowed. The language in the debates in Congress indicated all the rancour of hate. . . . But whether we remain in the Union or go out of the Union, the course of events clearly indicates that the States in which slavery exists, as the essential basis of their prosperity and power, will be driven to maintain their footing, will depend mainly upon the extent to which they may acquire influence on that theatre. It is our duty to ourselves and the South to build up and strengthen our influence on the Gulf. In the event of a rupture of the Union, or should events hasten the collision which sooner or later must take place on Southern Waters, how much would our position be improved and our influence increased, if by means of a great thoroughfare of travel and transportation, our harbor should be connected with our great cotton growing regions, and a large commercial city spring up there, as it will from the known laws of trade and navigation. At all events the State of Mississippi would have the

rushing the Gulf and Ship Island railroad to completion. The road's speedy completion was "of paramount importance" and a "great measure of independence, security, and defense." See *ibid.*, May 31, June 17, 1859.

³² The names of the Commissioners were as follows: Ebenezer Ford of Marion County, Wiley P. Harris and Jacob F. Foute of Hinds, Cornelius McLaurin of Rankin, Simeon R. Adams of Jasper, James Roach and John Willis of Warren, Charles Bellman and T. J. Humphries of Harrison, and Jonathan Weatherby and John Oats of Lawrence. See *ibid.*, June 19, 1858.

security of an untrammelled and independent connection with the markets of the world. We have argued ourselves into the belief that we have the right to assume the position of an independent State. We should then be able to assume it with confidence and maintain it with success.⁸³

The program of expansion and of commercial independence thus championed by the Democracy of Mississippi during the late fifties was pursued not merely that the state might cease to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the merchant princes of the North" but it had the additional motive of being an "initiatory step for dissolving the Union."⁸⁴ When the secession controversy reached a climax in 1860, the feeling among the majority of Mississippians that dissolution would bring to an end the paying of "tribute" to the North and would leave the South free to enter upon an era of expansion and unrivaled commercial prosperity, was not unimportant in determining the result on January 9, 1861.

⁸³ The address in full is printed in the *Natchez Free Trader*, June 19, 1858.

⁸⁴ *Hinds County Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1860, quoting *Vicksburg Whig*. In general, the American or Opposition party in Mississippi advocated the commercial and industrial development of the South, at the same time expressing unqualified disapproval of the Democracy's advocacy of such measures as an "initiatory step in the dissolution of the Union."

The Work of Southern Women Among the Sick and Wounded of the Confederate Armies.

By FRANCIS B. SIMKINS and JAMES W. PATTON

One of the distinctive features that accompanied the War for Southern Independence was the organization, on a larger scale than in any previous conflict, of civilian relief work. In the North the United States Sanitary Commission, the United States Christian Commission, volunteer nurses, and other agencies performed meritorious services in this respect, and, although not organized to the same extent, the relief activities of the noncombatant population in the South were likewise varied and widespread. Notable among such activities in the latter section were the efforts of the southern women to alleviate suffering among the sick and wounded of the Confederate armies.

Stories of sick and wounded men constituted one of the first impressions which the South received concerning the actualities of the war. Many were wounded in the first battles, and in addition there was a larger number ill with measles, typhoid fever, dysentery, camp fever, and the other diseases which usually develop among soldiers experiencing the contacts of camp life for the first time. The Confederate government, burdened with a multitude of other tasks, was unequal to the necessity of caring for this large mass of casualties, and it soon became evident that thousands were suffering for want of medical attention and proper nursing.¹ "Many of the soldiers," wrote an observer of this neglect at Fredericksburg, "are laid on the floor and are not touched, or their cases looked into for twenty-four hours. One or two died when there was no one near them."²

When this situation was brought to the attention of the women, they assumed a large portion of the burden of rem-

¹ See the report of a Congressional investigating committee, Jan. 29, 1862, *Journal of the Confederate Congress* (Washington, 1904), I, 724-726.

² Betty Herndon Maury, *Diary*, June 21, 1861 (Library of Congress).

edying such conditions. Hospital relief societies sprang into existence in all parts of the South, and appeals made to them for supplies met with hearty responses. "The express," said an account of the manner in which these appeals were answered, "quickly brought us lots upon lots of valuable boxes, containing sheets, pillow cases, towels, wines, brandies, gelatine, knives, forks, plates, and spoons—every comfort for the sick room."³ In addition to furnishing supplies, these societies frequently sent members of their organizations to the battlefields to do hospital work. The effectiveness of the work of such agents is well illustrated by an account of the ministrations of Catherine Gibbon of North Carolina to the soldiers from that state who were ill at Yorktown, Virginia. Finding the men miserable because of neglect, she improvised comfortable quarters for them and established much-needed rules of order and discipline. Even more gratifying than such practical services, however, was the cheerful manner in which she sought to revive the nostalgic spirits of these unfortunate sufferers. "Ah! how happy some of these poor fellows were to offer their fevered hands and greet the familiar face from their distant home," wrote an Englishwoman who was a witness of these touching scenes.⁴

The women of Virginia were especially active in this work. Partially throwing aside scruples against acts considered indelicate to their sex, they rushed into hospitals to assist the physicians and male nurses. Women who had previously fainted at witnessing a bleeding wound, according to an acute observer of Richmond life, grew strong under the painful tuition of the scenes in newly established military hospitals and became able to work upon and dress even the most ghastly wounds.⁵ After the battle of First Manassas an English visitor noticed the women of the Confederate capital bringing delicacies to the hospitals and standing by the bedsides of the wounded to fan away the flies,⁶ while at the same time Judith W. McGuire was pleased to note the

³ Mrs. Thomas Taylor, et al. (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (Columbia, 1907), II, 98-99.

⁴ Catherine C. Hopley, *Life in the South . . . from the Spring of 1860 to August, 1862* (London, 1863), I, 102.

⁵ Sallie A. Putnam, *Richmond during the War: Four Years of Personal Observations by a Richmond Lady* (New York, 1867), 68.

⁶ Samuel Phillips Day, *Down South; or an Englishman's Experience at the Seat of the American War* (London, 1862), II, 104.

manner in which the women of Winchester cared for the men who had been brought to that town from the camp at Harpers Ferry. "It rejoices my heart," wrote this Virginia patriot, "to see how much everybody is willing to do for the poor fellows. . . . Nice food for the sick is constantly being prepared by old and young. Those who are very sick are taken to private houses and the best chambers in town are occupied by them. The poorest privates and officers of the highest rank meet with the same treatment."⁷

One of the most notable examples of relief work was manifested by the women of Charlottesville, Virginia, in their services to the hospitals located in that town. The Confederate government provided these hospitals with such staples as flour, meat, lard, sugar, and fuel, but for milk, eggs, butter, fruits, vegetables and other delicacies the institutions had to depend upon the munificence of the women of the community. One of these, Mrs. William Hart, made a daily contribution of ten gallons of milk for a period of three years, in addition to liberal quantities of eggs, poultry, fruits, and vegetables. In order to insure the proper preparation of the supplies they had furnished, the women divided themselves into committees and took turns at working in the hospital kitchens. There they were so successful in making teas, soups, and other preparations suitable for invalids that some believed the disabled men enjoyed greater comforts under the care of the Charlottesville women than they would have experienced in their own impoverished homes.⁸

The hospital relief societies continued their services for the duration of the war. One of the greatest concerns of the women throughout the South was to see that the hospitals, both large and small, had the necessities as well as the comforts which would aid in the alleviation of suffering. Under the more fortunate circumstances this meant the supplementing of staples provided by the government with luxuries and

⁷ Judith W. McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War* (Richmond, 1889), 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 163. For other accounts of hospital relief work, see Francis W. Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War. The Lives They Lived; the Deaths They Died* (Charleston, 1885), 115-116; Taylor, et al. (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 20-25; W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 244; Mary A. V. Carroll to Zebulon B. Vance, Ridgeway, N. C., Feb. 6, 1863, Executive Papers of North Carolina, Vance (North Carolina Historical Commission).

delicacies from private kitchens; under unfavorable conditions, which frequently existed, it meant the supplying of staples as well as luxuries. In their efforts to achieve these objectives, women scoured the countryside for supplies; they gave the luxuries from their tables; they established hospital kitchens; and in the folds of the ample skirts of the period they smuggled quantities of precious quinine and morphine from beyond the lines.⁹ The contemplation of these phases of their activity impelled a visiting Englishwoman to remark, "Heaven only knows what the soldiers of the South would have done without the exertions of the women in their behalf."¹⁰

The mounting of casualties led women in all sections of the Confederacy to found hospitals. Notable work along this line was accomplished by the Southern Mothers' Society of Memphis. The members of this organization, moved by the sad plight of the large number of sick and wounded men in their midst, established the Southern Mothers' Hospital in rooms lent for the purpose by a public spirited resident of the city. Beginning with thirty, the number of patients in this institution soon rose to several hundred. Everything was said to have been provided for the comfort of the men, including a warm breakfast each morning.¹¹ Equally successful was the Ladies' Hospital of Montgomery, which was established in buildings lent by a philanthropic woman to meet the needs of the sick and wounded in that city. The actual conduct of this institution was in the hands of a German and his wife hired for the purpose, but the women of Montgomery, in their daily visits, were of much service to the patients. When the rooms which had been used at first

⁹ The smuggling of drugs and medicines from beyond the lines was extensively practiced by southern women during the war. See, for example, Matthew P. Andrews (ed.), *The Women of the South in War Times* (Baltimore, 1924), 116-119, and "The Diary of a Union Woman in the South," in George W. Cable (ed.), *Famous Adventures and Prison Escapes of the Civil War* (New York, 1893), 48. At the insistence of the medical department of the Confederate government, many women also undertook the cultivation of poppies and the consequent manufacture of opium and laudanum. Small patches of palma Christi were likewise cultivated with a view to making castor oil. See Parthenia A. Hague, *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama during the Civil War* (New York, 1888), 32-33, 46-47.

¹⁰ Hopley, *Life in the South*, I, 415.

¹¹ Mrs. S. E. D. Smith, *The Soldiers' Friend . . . Four Years' Experience and Observation in the Hospitals of the South* (Memphis, 1867), 34-52; Louise Benton Graham, et. al. (eds.), *History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South* (New Orleans, n. d.), 262-263.

became inadequate for the increasing number of men who sought admission, toward the end of 1861, these women secured larger quarters and called their new venture the Soldiers' Home of Montgomery. As many as five hundred men were cared for at one time in the larger undertaking, and so widespread was the recognition of its services that people from all over the state of Alabama made substantial contributions to its upkeep.¹²

Although these and similar ventures were both valuable and meritorious, it soon became apparent that the resources of the women were inadequate for such a gigantic endeavor as the treatment of all the disabled of the Confederate armies. Except for a few Roman Catholic sisters, there were no trained nurses among the southern women, and moreover the hospitals needed the discipline of skilled experts with the authority of the government behind them. During the last months of 1861 and the first months of the following year, therefore, the Confederate government assumed the control and partial support of all soldiers' hospitals in the South. The change from voluntary to official management did not result, however, in eliminating the women from the hospital scene. The hospital relief societies, as already indicated, continued to supply these institutions with food and clothing; the Catholic sisters continued their work as nurses; an important and able group of lay women found work as matrons; and a few women of exceptional ability remained as managers. In fact, the services of the women continued to be so varied and extensive that the significance of their efforts was in no sense lessened by the fact that the managerial phases of hospital work largely passed into masculine hands.

Best known among the women who remained as managers or superintendents of hospitals was Sallie L. Tompkins. After the battle of First Manassas she devoted her means and talents to the establishment and management of a hospital in an old Richmond mansion, and her services were considered so valuable and efficient that she was not removed from this position when the government assumed control of the hospital service. To remove the irregularity of having a person without official title in her position, President Davis commissioned her a captain of cavalry, unassigned. She

¹² Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 258-260.

thereby enjoyed the unique distinction of being the only woman ever regularly commissioned by the Confederate government. She remained in her position until the end of the war, treating a grand total of over thirteen hundred soldiers.¹³

Another hospital executive noted for her devotion and efficiency was Ella King Newsom, a wealthy Arkansas widow who, at the outbreak of the war, abandoned the task of directing the education of her younger sisters to undertake the relief of disabled soldiers. Unlike the majority of southern women who followed this course, however, she appreciated the need of specific training and secured instruction in the Memphis City Hospital under the direction of a physician and the Sisters of Mercy. In December, 1861, she began her career among the sick soldiers at Bowling Green, Kentucky, where she found the men suffering from cold, administrative inefficiency, and lack of supplies. Working with tireless energy every day from four in the morning until midnight, she established an orderly routine and was rewarded by being made superintendent of the Bowling Green hospitals. Upon the retreat of the Confederates from Kentucky, she established herself in Nashville, where she organized a hospital in the buildings of the Howard High School. After the fall of Nashville she dexterously supervised the removal of her patients to Winchester in the same state, where she organized a hospital of such excellence that it acquired the name of "The Soldiers' Paradise." Her talents for organization were effectively displayed later at Chattanooga and Atlanta, Corinth, Mississippi, and Abingdon, Virginia, and she won among her friends the title of "The Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army."¹⁴

More numerous than the women who remained as superintendents were those who entered the hospital service in the capacity of professional matrons. To give these latter positions official status, the Confederate Congress, by act of September 27, 1862, defined the functions of chief matron, assistant matron, and ward matron and fixed their salaries

¹³ [Mrs. Fielding Lewis Taylor], "Captain Sallie Tompkins," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIV (1916), 521; Andrews (ed.), *The Women of the South in War Times*, 127-129; Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond, 1933), 303.

¹⁴ J. Fraise Richard, *The Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army: Experiences of Ella King Newsom* (New York, 1914), 13-88.

at forty, thirty-five, and thirty dollars a month, respectively. The matron was charged with the duties of seeing that the orders of the surgeons were executed, supervising the sanitary and commissary arrangements of the hospital, and satisfying the needs of individual patients.¹⁵ The actual implication of the last duty was described in detail by Mrs. S. E. D. Smith. "The matron," she wrote, "will call on the steward for whatever diet the patient's appetite calls for, see that it is prepared to suit his taste, feed him herself if he is too feeble to do so; bathe his fevered brow; comb his hair." Other duties enumerated by the same writer included the dressing of wounds which were considered too delicate for the hands of the male nurses; the placing of pads and pillows so as to relieve the wounds of the patients from the pressure of the mattress; the making of slings and the padding of crutches; the visiting of the wards at every spare moment to join in the conversations of the men, to read and sing and write letters for them, and to encourage their religious inclinations; the filling of haversacks for soldiers about to return to the army; and the saying of prayers for those for whom death was imminent.¹⁶

A notable group of women performed with signal success the duties thus delegated to hospital matrons. Outstanding among them was Kate Cumming. A woman of Scotch birth living in Mobile at the outbreak of the war, she possessed a combination of practical skill and intense devotion to the Confederate cause without being fettered by the contemporary southern feeling that nursing was a profession too indelicate for women. She entered the hospital service of the Army of Tennessee after the battle of Shiloh and served with distinguished ability in this capacity until the end of the war.¹⁷ Another notable matron was Louisa Susanna McCord, a daughter of Langdon Cheves and the widow of David J. McCord, a distinguished lawyer of South Carolina. After serving as president of the Soldiers' Relief Association and the Ladies' Clothing Association of Columbia, she resigned

¹⁵ *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. II, 199-200.

¹⁶ Smith, *The Soldiers' Friend*, 181-184.

¹⁷ The experiences of Kate Cumming are recorded in intimate and dramatic detail in her *Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of the Tennessee* (Louisville, 1866).

these duties in 1862 in order to give her whole time to the military hospital which had been established in the buildings of South Carolina College. In the midst of this activity there came the news that her son had been killed at Second Manassas, but her work continued "patient and cheerful and tender in its ministrations in the hospital; it was also capably executive. She managed the scheduling of the assistant nurses, planned the provisioning of the larder, that was often meager and largely dependent on gratuitous contributions. She regulated the convalescents, she wrote letters for them, talked with them, soothed the restless, gave Christian comfort to the dying."¹⁸

Still other matrons noted for their devotion and efficiency included Sallie Chapman Gordon Law, Mary Joyner, Annie E. Johns, Kate Mason Rowland, Fannie A. Beers, Juliet Opie Hopkins, Emily V. Mason, Margaret Walker Weber, and Phoebe Yates Pember.¹⁹ What Mary Boykin Chesnut wrote of Louisa Susanna McCord might have been written, with individual modifications, for each of these women. "She is dedicating her grief for her son," wrote the South Carolina diarist, "sanctifying it, one might say, by giving up her soul and body, her days and nights, to the wounded soldiers at her hospital. Every moment of her time is surrendered to their needs."²⁰

In the discharge of their numerous duties, the matrons had to overcome many obstacles. For one thing, they had to contend with the vagaries of the volunteer nurses and women visitors. An experienced matron went so far as to say that visiting and nursing by such women did more harm than good. She affirmed that none of them appreciated the need of training in hospital practices; that they visited the hospitals at hours inconvenient to the patients and the hospital authorities; and that, with pugnacious insistence, they

¹⁸ Jessie Melville Fraser, "Louisa C. McCord," *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, XCI (1920), 35-36.

¹⁹ List compiled from T. C. DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the 60's* (New York, 1907), 380-393. See also, Kate Mason Rowland, *Diary, 1861-1865* (Confederate Museum, Richmond); Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story* (New York, 1879); Fannie A. Beers, *Memories: A Record of Personal Experiences and Adventure during Four Years of War* (Philadelphia, 1888); and Sallie C. Law, *Reminiscences of the War of the Sixties between the North and South* (Memphis, 1892).

²⁰ Mary Boykin Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York, 1929), 317.

gave the patients food that often had disastrous effects.²¹ Another authoritative observer asserted that the visiting ladies were so imprudent in their ideas regarding the proper care and remedies "that the poor doctors were forever beset with applications to take unadvisable measures for their patients."²² The following anecdote which went the rounds of the Confederacy illustrates the misdirection which it was possible for feminine zeal to assume in behalf of the welfare of the patients. "'How do you do? Is there anything you want?'" said a lady visitor at the bedside of a sick soldier. "'No, I believe not,'" curtly replied the man. "'Is there nothing I can do?'" insisted the visitor. The impatient victim repeated, "'I believe not.'" "'Oh,'" cried his persecutrix, "'I do want to do something for you! Can't I wash your hands and face?'" With resignation the soldier replied, "'Well, if you want to right bad, I reckon you can; but if you do, you will be the fourteenth lady who has done so this morning.'"²³

Another obstacle was the inefficiency of the assistants who were assigned to the matrons. The male nurses under their direction were usually convalescing soldiers, selected more often because they were not strong enough for field duty than because of any aptitude or experience in the care of the sick. And, moreover, as soon as they grew strong enough to be of real help to the matrons, they were often whisked off to the army. Women substitutes for the male assistants frequently proved to be equally unsatisfactory. Some turned out to be drunkards or flirts; others, whose real motive in entering the hospital service was merely to be near their husbands, proved incompetent and unwilling to perform the duties assigned to them. At Richmond Phoebe Yates Pember had to contend with a hard-featured North Carolinian who refused to circulate among the men in the wards, and with an Englishwoman who arrived at the hospital with seven trunks, complained that the quarters assigned to her were inadequate, and got so drunk that she had to be removed from the premises by physical force.²⁴

²¹ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 112.

²² Hopley, *Life in the South*, I, 402.

²³ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 53.

²⁴ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 46-54.

A more serious handicap was the widespread public prejudice against women serving in hospitals. It was generally held in the South that an occupation involving such intimate contacts with strange men was unfit for a self-respecting woman to pursue. There was no tolerance whatever of young, unmarried women in these positions; older women drove them away from the hospital doors, saying that the duties were "irksome and strongly discordant."²⁵ On numerous occasions women were prevailed upon by relatives to give up their intentions of entering hospitals. "The simple truth is," wrote a distinguished southern novelist, in withdrawing her application for a matron's position, "that my family is much opposed to my doing so, *especially my brothers*. . . . The boys have heard so much about ladies being in the hospitals that they cannot bear for me to go."²⁶ A concession was grudgingly made in favor of women of maturity, but even they were hounded by criticism. "There is scarcely a day passes," wrote Kate Cumming, "that I do not hear some derogatory remarks about the ladies who are in the hospitals, until I think, if there is any credit due them at all, it is for the moral courage they have in braving public opinion."²⁷

Strange as it may seem to modern ears, the majority of the surgeons shared the contemporary prejudice against the service of women in the hospitals. Most women ascribed this attitude to professional jealousy. Surgeons were accused of being snobbish toward matrons, refusing to sit in the same room with them, "envious or impatient toward them," and disinclined to respect the act of Congress involving "the advent of female supervision" and other aspects of "petticoat government."²⁸ On the other hand, the surgeons themselves, as well as a great many of the more efficient and well-informed matrons, justified their position on the ground that the majority of the women who wished to become matrons

²⁵ Taylor, *et al.* (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 215; Susan L. Blackford, *Memoirs of Life In and Out of the Army of Virginia during the War between the States* (Lynchburg, 1894), I, 45; Margaret to Cary Pettigrew, Abbeville District, S. C., May 1, 1862, Pettigrew Letters (University of North Carolina Library).

²⁶ Augusta J. Evans to Ella King Newsom, Mobile, Oct. 28, 1863, in Richard, *The Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army*, 93.

²⁷ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 115.

²⁸ Putnam, *Richmond during the War*, 318; Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 15-16; Blackford, *Memoirs*, I, 179.

were woefully lacking in the elements of hospital administration and in the proper professional attitude. Kate Cumming, whose observations may be taken as authoritative in this respect, wrote, "I know many women will say that the surgeons will not have them, nor do I blame the surgeons if the stories are true which I have heard about the ladies."²⁹ Nevertheless, the fact remains that the surgeons were not exempt from the popular belief that attending to the needs of wounded men was a function too indelicate for women of character to perform. "His principal objection," added Kate Cumming regarding a representative surgeon, "was that the accommodations were not fit for ladies."³⁰

Regardless of whose fault it was, southern prejudice against women in the hospitals had evil effects. It reduced the number of women who were willing to ignore or flaunt public opinion to a level far below the actual needs of the hospital service, and it tended to drive the better class of women away from the hospitals and throw the positions open to women of indifferent character and training. Matrons complained bitterly but vainly against the women who neglected their Christian duty because of this prejudice. "I have no patience," wrote Kate Cumming, "with women whom I hear telling what wonders they would do if they were only men, when I see much of their legitimate work left undone." Why, she asked, did not the women come forward to make bandages for the wounded as these men came in from battlefields? Why were so many men allowed to die without a word of Christian comfort from women who knew not what to do with their time?³¹ In the meantime, wealthy and cultivated women, who were wasting their time, suffered compunctions of conscience because they were not doing the type of work which women like Kate Cumming said they should do. "O that I could do something for them," wrote Catherine Ann Edmonston, a wealthy plantation mistress in Halifax County, North Carolina, "instead of sitting down at ease and comfort at home and giving the soldiers wishes that cost me nothing."³² But the pressure of public opinion

²⁹ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 88.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 88, 95, 120.

³² Catherine Ann Edmonston, *Diary*, Sept. 5, 1862 (North Carolina Historical Commission).

was too much for her, and, devoted as she was to the cause of the Confederacy, Mrs. Edmonston joined the others of her class in refusing to translate her patriotic sentiments into unconventional activity. Phoebe Yates Pember said in 1862 that "very few ladies and a great many inefficient and uneducated women hardly above the laboring class" constituted the feminine portion of the hospital forces. She later found women of education and refinement filling these positions in Virginia, but such was not the case in other states, where the men continued to suffer from lack of intelligent attentions until the end of the war.³³

Still other obstacles in the way of efficient service on the part of the matrons included the inadequate and uncomfortable quarters to which they were frequently assigned. These quarters were often of such character as to lead their occupants to suspect the truth of the prediction that finer sensibilities would be blunted by hospital service. Sometimes their dormitories were furnished only with boxes and shelves, and their living quarters were separated from those of the men merely by obstructions composed of piles of baggage.³⁴ At other times they lived in rude structures in the midst of arid wastes, encircled by trenches which stank with the refuse of the camps.³⁵ Even more discouraging than their unpleasant quarters were the perplexities which the matrons experienced, especially toward the end of the war, in attempting to secure adequate supplies for their charges. Often there was not even enough dry corn bread to satisfy the hunger of the patients, and the only delicacies at hand were dried apples for the convalescent and herbs and arrowroot for the desperately ill.³⁶

And yet, as already indicated, a number of women overcame these obstacles sufficiently to achieve an enduring reputation. One of the factors which contributed to this success was their ability to marshall an invincible logic against the views of those who claimed that hospitals were not decent places for women. "Christians," said one, "should not mind what the world says so they are conscientiously striving to

³³ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 13, 157.

³⁴ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 13-14.

³⁵ Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York, 1912), 182-183.

³⁶ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 98-104.

do their duty to their God." And when certain so-called "Christian, high-toned, and educated women" criticized Kate Cumming's activities, she replied that it seemed strange for women in America to consider it a disgrace to do what Florence Nightingale and other aristocratic women of Great Britain had done with honor.³⁷ In answer to the argument that women in hospitals were not treated with respect, the matrons asserted that the bearing of the patients toward them was usually faultless. But their most satisfying argument was that the needy and suffering champions of the cause of the Confederacy had the right to demand all the services of which the women were capable of giving. "Are we willing," said Kate Cumming, "to nurse these brave heroes who are sacrificing so much for us? What in the name of common sense are we to do? Sit calmly down, knowing that there is many a parched lip which would bless us for a drop of water, and many a wound to be bound up."³⁸

Another reason for their success was the confident spirit in which these matrons faced the obstacles which confronted them. Although their physical surroundings might be imperfect, they did not sink to pessimism. One matron told Kate Cumming, as a joke, that the rain poured into her room in torrents, and optimistically added that unless there were drawbacks there was no credit to be derived from staying in hospitals. When the matrons of a Chattanooga hospital were confronted with the disconcerting intelligence that their cooking stove smoked and that there was not a change of clothing for their patients, they were not baffled. Instead they secured a good stove by appealing to friends in Mobile, and they made the required garments by sitting up all night and sewing.³⁹ The complaints of the patients against unsavory or insufficient food were often met by the matrons in similar fashion. One secured quiet in her hospital by telling the men that they should be satisfied with dried peas, since that was all the food they possessed. "It is food for fighters," she said as she put a portion of the unpleasant dish in her mouth.⁴⁰ Others stretched the scant supplies at their command in such a way as to forestall dissatisfaction.

³⁷ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 44-45.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 46, 48, 53-54, 106.

⁴⁰ Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 150.

"There was really a great deal of heroism displayed," said Phoebe Yates Pember, as she recalled "the calm courage with which I learned to count the number of mouths to be fed, and then contemplating the food, calculated not how much but how little each man could be satisfied with."⁴¹

If the testimony of the matrons be authentic, one of their most significant services was performed in correcting the neglect and stupidity of their masculine co-workers. These women protested vigorously against the "total disregard of human life" which was manifested by the male attendants in allowing wounded men to remain unattended on railroad platforms and in preparing for these unfortunates food which they could not eat. At times, against the orders of their masculine superiors, they even received into their hospitals freshly-wounded men for whom there was supposed to be no room, and when patients from certain regiments were discriminated against by the hospital authorities, the women fitted out special quarters for these men and entertained them at their own tables.⁴² One matron in a Richmond hospital was called "The Great Eastern" by the hospital officials and "Miss Sally" by the patients. She was pleased with this contrast in nicknames, however, since the one was caused by her reporting of official neglect, the other by her ministering unselfishly to the patients.⁴³

Notable service was also rendered by the hospital matrons in their treatment of sick and wounded prisoners. The regulations of the Confederate government provided that these men should be given the same care as the wounded southerners received, and the matrons as a rule experienced little difficulty in carrying out these orders. "The Federal prisoners are receiving the same attention as our own men; they are lying side by side," reported Kate Cumming at Corinth, Mississippi, after the battle of Shiloh.⁴⁴ The dressing of wounds, the bathing of hands and feet, the feeding of the desperately ill, and the saying of prayers and other comforting words for them were some of the numerous favors which the matrons bestowed upon these unfortunates. In fact, an English visitor was so impressed with the care given

⁴¹ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 101.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 33, 55-57; Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 26, 31-32, 35.

⁴³ J. W. Jones, *Christ in Camp* (Richmond, 1887), 199.

⁴⁴ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 12.

to the wounded enemy in the hospitals of the Confederacy that he spoke of it as "the exuberance of Christian charity" and "the exercise of a lofty magnanimity."⁴⁵ Outstanding among those who distinguished themselves for their charity toward the wounded prisoners was Annie E. Johns, a matron in a Danville, Virginia, hospital. She refused to follow the example of her associates in resigning when the removal of the Confederates to Richmond left only Federals in the Danville hospitals, and the quality of the service which she rendered is indicated by the gratitude which it won. "Strange as it may seem," she wrote with regard to the attitude of the prisoners toward her, "I felt, in standing among these men, if danger assailed me, they would defend me as soon as our own soldiers."⁴⁶

Some matrons, it is true, manifested a tendency to interlard their attentions to the captives with reproaches for the alleged crimes of the Federal armies, and many were unable to give them the same warm sympathy which they gave to the Confederate patients, but perhaps the majority of matrons responded generously with their services in cases of individual suffering. Ella King Newsom, for example, nursed a Federal who had fallen into her hands after the battle of Shiloh so faithfully that he begged to be carried with her when she left with the retreating Confederates.⁴⁷ Similar tenderness was manifested by a Mississippi woman in her attentions to a dying Ohio soldier. "I entered the ward," she said in describing this pathetic scene; "his eye sought mine, with a wistful look, and brightened as I came near his bed. I smoothed the hair from his forehead, moistened his lips, and then, taking the fly brush, resolved to stay by him until the last. Oh, dear J—! those wistful eyes that followed every motion of mine!—those anxious dying eyes."⁴⁸

The greatest compensation that came to the matrons for their labors and tribulations was the love and gratitude of the men whom they served. They were pleased when their appearance in the wards was a signal for the patients to look up in the hopes of attracting their attention, and when men,

⁴⁵ Day, *Down South*, II, 104.

⁴⁶ Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 227.

⁴⁷ Andrews (ed.), *The Women of the South in War Times*, 136.

⁴⁸ Cited in Mary A. Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg* (New York, 1864), 171.

whom they had overlooked on their tours of inspection, recalled them to the wards.⁴⁹ Sometimes they even changed the plans which they had made to quit the hospital service, in the long and discouraging hours of the night, into resolutions to remain until the end of the war, after they had observed the smiles with which the unfortunate sufferers greeted their return to the bedsides the next morning.⁵⁰ Another source of comfort to the matrons was the large number of grateful letters which they received from former patients and their relatives. "The many acts and kindnesses you have shown me," read a typical letter of this sort, "are indelibly stamped upon my heart, and words cannot express the gratitude I feel toward you."⁵¹

Doubtless the most skillful and devoted of all the women who nursed disabled Confederates were the members of the various Roman Catholic sisterhoods. They constituted the only class of women in the South possessed of formal training in nursing and hospital management, and they worked among the sick and wounded in camp, in hospital, and on the battlefield with the calculated self-abnegation and efficiency that was traditional among such orders of holy women. Largely northern or foreign in origin, wearing habits strange to Protestant soldiers, and observing no distinctions of race or nationality in their ministrations, they were naturally received with suspicion at first, but when they proved by silent deed that their aim was to relieve suffering humanity, they won the confidence and admiration of both the soldiers and the people of the South generally.

That the bravery of the sisters was no less unswerving than their devotion was demonstrated by incidents that occurred on many battlefields. "'My God! Look at those women. What are they doing down there? They'll be killed,'" cried a soldier as he observed the conduct of the Sisters of St. Ursula during the battle of Galveston. "'Oh,'" replied another soldier, "'those are the sisters. They are looking for the wounded. They are not afraid of anything.'" Significant services were also performed by the Sisters of Charity of the convent at Emmitsburg, Maryland. The mem-

⁴⁹ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 138-139.

⁵⁰ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 106.

⁵¹ Cited in Smith, *The Soldiers' Friend*, 226.

bers of this order began their work in June, 1861, at Harpers Ferry, where, in spite of the suspicion of local women, they nursed many ill soldiers back to health. Later they served in hospitals at Richmond, Lynchburg, Gordonsville, and Danville, bringing order out of chaos in institutions suffering from the mismanagement of incompetent and inexperienced officials. The hooded forms of the Emmitsburg sisters were seen on numerous battlefields. At Gettysburg, for instance, they were observed picking up the disabled and stanching their wounds with bandages torn from their own garments.

Other sisters served with similar distinction. The Sisters of St. Dominic took charge of the Memphis City Hospital, where, according to a local newspaper, "the soldiers received the best attention and the kindest and most efficient nursing." In Kentucky the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth won the admiration of both armies by their services on the battlefields and in the chain of hospitals they established. The Sisters of Mercy of Vicksburg refused the opportunity to return to their mother house in Baltimore and remained in the besieged city, where they converted their school into a hospital for the accommodation of the wounded. Some of these sisters followed the Confederates in their retreat across Mississippi, doing notable work in the hospitals at Oxford, Mississippi Springs, and Jackson. With thirty years of experience in the care of the sick behind them, the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in Charleston performed signal service in the hospitals of that city. "Since the beginning of the siege of our city," said a newspaper of that place, "their presence has diffused its blessings in every hospital and their unmarred attentions to the soldiers have done incalculable good." In fact, it may be said that the only drawback to the services of the sisters in the South was their scarcity, less than two hundred being in the service.⁵²

More extensive if less efficient than the services of the hospital matrons and the nuns were those of the women who organized and maintained wayside homes. These institutions were small hospitals or rest rooms which sprang into existence

⁵² For more detailed and extensive information on the activities of the Catholic sisterhoods, see George Barton, *Angels of the Battlefields: A History of the Labors of the Catholic Sisterhoods in the Late Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1897), and Ellen Ryan Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefields* (Providence, R. I., 1927).

at almost every railroad junction in the Confederacy to care for the numerous sick and wounded men who were dumped off or left stranded by the inefficient railroad service. The first wayside home was established at Columbia, South Carolina, in March, 1862, when a clergyman called the attention of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association of that city to the fact that there were many ill and needy men stranded at the local railway station. These young women immediately equipped a room at the station which they called "The Soldiers' Rest." When this room became inadequate to accommodate the number of soldiers who desired to make use of its facilities, the women of Columbia secured larger quarters, capable of housing one hundred men and feeding three hundred. At the same time the services of older women and men ward masters and nurses were impressed in order to relieve the supposedly more sensitive young women of "the grim work to be done" and "the ghastly sights to be seen."⁵³ The extent of the activities of these women is illustrated by Mrs. Thomas Taylor's account of their work during an emergency created by the arrival of a large number of men from a recently fought battle. This writer recalled "seeing Mrs. Bryce with a huge coffee pot in her hand, standing in the Wayside kitchen; Mrs. Fisher, with a large spoon, stirring something on the stove; the invaluable Dinah Collins, making up something and turning a portly figure and kindly face to one and any who spoke to her, and at the same time giving direction which kettle to get hot water from."⁵⁴

The wayside homes established at other places had histories similar to the one at Columbia. The one at Macon, Georgia, was described by a hospital matron as "one of the most useful institutions we have";⁵⁵ the one at High Point, North Carolina, from its foundation in September, 1863, until the end of the war, supplied the needs of no less than 5795 men;⁵⁶ and the one at Millen, Georgia, not only fed the passing soldiers bountifully, but forced them to forget the terrors of war for a time by providing bevvies of fair maidens for their

⁵³ Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 205-206; Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 2-4.

⁵⁴ Taylor, et al. (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 94.

⁵⁵ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 150.

⁵⁶ Mrs. J. S. Welborn, "A Wayside Hospital," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVIII (1930), 95-96.

entertainment.⁵⁷ Such stories were related in wayside homes in every section of the Confederacy.

The wayside homes furnished relief to the disabled soldiers who were on board the trains as well as to those who were stranded at the stations. Whenever a train stopped at a town, it was customary for a committee of women to board it in order to bind up wounds and supply the passing soldiers with food and medicines. "A committee of ladies met every afternoon train" at Anderson, South Carolina. "With pitchers of buttermilk and bottles of whisky they would go through the cars, and if sick soldiers were on board they ministered to their wants."⁵⁸ It was not unusual, when trains loaded with the wounded passed through a town after a battle, for the entire feminine population to turn out. "Every lady, every child, every servant in the village," wrote Judith W. McGuire of such an occasion at Ashland, Virginia, "has been engaged in preparing and carrying food to the wounded as the cars stopped at the depot—coffee, tea, soup, milk, and everything we could obtain. . . . The cars passed on, and we filled our pitchers, bowls, and baskets, to be ready for others."⁵⁹ Some women devoted their entire time to this type of work. Sarah K. Rowe of Orangeburg, South Carolina, for instance, met the train each day and rode with it to the nearby village of Kingville. Loaded with boxes of medicine, bandages, and food, she went up and down the cars, giving food and words of comfort to the well, delicacies and medicine to the sick, and cordials and fresh bandages to the wounded.⁶⁰

When the regular hospital facilities of a town were crowded by the arrival of large bodies of wounded men after a great battle, the women frequently came forward to assist in the emergency. After the Seven Days fighting around Richmond, for example, all the married women in the city were said to have formed themselves into bands for the purpose of aiding the hard pressed surgeons and nurses. Their services included the establishing of hospitals in their

⁵⁷ J. L. Underwood (ed.), *The Women of the Confederacy* (New York, 1906), 108-109.

⁵⁸ Taylor, et al. (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 364.

⁵⁹ McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee*, 176.

⁶⁰ Taylor, et al. (eds.), *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 147-148.

homes, bathing bleeding wounds, washing the stiffened mud and gore from the hair and beards of the soldiers, and the administering of restoratives to the dying.⁶¹ Another example of this type of conduct was that of the women of Greensboro, North Carolina, after the battle of Bentonville. "All else was forgotten," says an account of these Greensboro women, "as with tender hearts and eager hands they sought to make the poor fellows comfortable in their hastily improvised beds and comfortless quarters. . . . The town was divided into districts and the women of each neighborhood fed from their tables the body of soldiers nearest them. Daily their waiters threaded the town, and daily their interest in the boys grew."⁶²

In performing such acts of mercy the women occasionally created scenes sufficiently dramatic to be memorialized in the literature of the period. "There was scarcely a murmur in the crowded car," began a South Carolina writer in describing a touching incident that occurred on a railroad train in that state. A young girl sat patiently beside a soldier prostrated by injuries and the heat, bathing his wounds and fanning his face. Sympathetic observers handed her money, but instead of keeping it she put it in the invalid's pocket.⁶³ A similar scene was described by T. C. DeLeon as occurring in Richmond. One day in 1863 this writer saw an old man, ragged and dirty, being conveyed through the streets of the city in a springless cart, his bare feet protruding and his open wounds dripping blood. At his side walked one of the city's most beautiful young women, wiping the damp sweat from the old man's forehead and attempting to smooth his rough journey with comforting words. There was no romance in this scene, said DeLeon. The wounded man "could not be conjured into a fair young knight—old, dirty, vulgar as he was. But he had fought for her—for the fair city she loved better than life—and the gayest rider in all that band was not more a hero to her!"⁶⁴

Women of all sections of the South generously received the disabled soldiers into their homes. So widespread was

⁶¹ Putnam, *Richmond during the War*, 135; Maury, *Diary*, July 20, 1862 (Library of Congress); George Cary Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections* (New York, 1905), 67.

⁶² Andrews (ed.), *The Women of the South in War Times*, 233.

⁶³ *Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1862.

⁶⁴ T. C. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* (Mobile, 1892), 199.

this practice, asserted George Cary Eggleston, that at one time almost every home within a hundred miles of Richmond held one or more wounded men as especially honored guests.⁶⁵ At times, overcrowded hospitals were relieved of their excess of recent casualties in this manner, but the more usual practice was not to remove the men to private homes until they had begun to show signs of convalescence. It was currently believed that the patients in private homes secured better treatment than those in the public hospitals, the superiority of domestic over institutional care being ascribed to the motherly attentions which the women bestowed upon their disabled guests.⁶⁶

As a rule such women did not allow distinctions of breeding and class to stand in the way of their receiving disabled men into their homes. Indeed it may be said that the wearing of the gray was usually the only passport that was required for entrance even into the most aristocratic houses. When certain women in Mississippi were asked why they tolerated the presence of convalescents whose ill manners extended to the point of rudeness, they casually replied that their own soldier-sons might be committing similar indiscretions in the homes of other people.⁶⁷ In some cases the women were so eager to avoid the appearance of discrimination that they wrote to the hospital authorities requesting that only wounded privates be sent them, feeling that the officers would get all the attention they needed anyway.⁶⁸ The substantial and unselfish character of the work of the women in this respect is well illustrated by the numerous glowing accounts written by convalescents regarding the treatment which they received in the cottages as well as the mansions of the Confederacy. "I take my place three times a day at a beautifully appointed table," wrote a Texan from Virginia, "sleep in a feather bed between clean white sheets; hear the clatter and laughter of little children; and may, when I choose, listen to the low, sweet voices of refined and cultured women, or the music evoked by skillful fingers from a melodious piano."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 69.

⁶⁶ Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 306-307.

⁶⁷ Cumming, *Hospital Life*, 30, 33.

⁶⁸ Dawson (ed.), *Our Women in the War*, 274.

⁶⁹ J. B. Polley, *A Soldier's Letters to Charming Nellie* (New York, 1908), 270.

When the war was over many of the women of the South were able to recall with a high degree of satisfaction a variety of services which they had rendered to thousands of disabled Confederates. There was little of the spectacular in these services. The prevailing conception of feminine propriety prevented the creation of hospital heroines through newspaper publicity, and there was little opportunity for the development of the hospital romances so popular in the literature of later wars, for the wounded veteran was not given the privilege of being nursed by a maiden possessed of the modern combination of beauty and scientific training. The Confederate woman was usually untrained when she entered the hospital services, and she would have been scandalized had her activities been given a romantic motivation. Likewise, there were many mistakes, both of omission and commission, made as a result of inexperience, inefficiency, and prudishness. Such mistakes were largely counteracted, however, by the devoted manner in which many women discharged their duties toward the sick and wounded. Without the wayside homes, the work of the Catholic sisters, the activities of the matrons, the furnishing of hospital supplies, the receiving of convalescents into private homes, and the numerous other services of the women, it is difficult to believe that the fate of the incapacitated Confederate soldier would not have been far worse than it actually was.

Notes and Documents

LAMAR AND THE FRONTIER HYPOTHESIS

By WIRT ARMISTEAD CATE

My recently published statement that in 1887, "in his discussion of the evolution of our political system, and the forces that have worked to modify it, Lamar advanced (and developed fully) the theory of the influence of the American frontier,"¹ has attracted such wide attention that a more extended treatment of the subject seems desirable. Five years after the delivery and four years after the publication in book form of L. Q. C. Lamar's Calhoun speech,² to which I have particular reference, Professor Frederick J. Turner was to publish his brilliant thirty-eight page essay on the subject and, as I shall presently show, was to quote and elaborate Lamar's thesis in a study which has profoundly influenced subsequent discussion of the development of American nationalism.³

As a matter of fact, the ideas advanced by Lamar and expanded by Turner are now so commonly accepted that it may be forgotten that once they had the freshness of novelty. Indeed, there is a definitely recognizable tendency among certain scholars of the so-called "Turner School of historians" to extend the implications of the frontier hypothesis (the soundness of which, properly understood, is beyond controversy) in a manner which cannot always be maintained

¹Lucius Q. C. Lamar, *Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 465. The complete statement follows:

"Let it be noted, too, that in his discussion of the evolution of our political system, and the forces that have worked to modify it, Lamar advanced (and developed fully) the theory of the influence of the American frontier. All that Dr. Frederick J. Turner, the eminent historian, was to say on the subject five years later (and which—despite his own recognition of his indebtedness to Lamar—has so frequently been labeled as his original contribution to the philosophy of history) was but a repetition and expansion of what Lamar had previously pointed out with admirable clearness and brevity."

²In Clarence Cuninghame (ed.), *A History of the Calhoun Monument* (Charleston, 1888).

³This paper, which was first read at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, July 12, 1893, and which was published on December 14, 1893, in the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was reprinted as the first essay in Professor Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921).

and which would hardly be approved by Professor Turner himself. Moreover, the considerable number of books and articles which yearly amplify and illustrate the principles expounded by Turner constitute a further justification, if such were needed, for a discussion of the genesis of this historical concept and a demonstration of his indebtedness to Lamar.

The idea that the most powerful influence in the growth of American constitutional government is not to be found in the slavery struggle or in the history of the Atlantic coast at all, but in the development of the great West, appears as a commonplace in the writings and speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar at a time when historians were universally centering their attention on the struggle between North and South (between two divergent civilizations) and ignoring the importance of our rapidly advancing frontier. The forces that were shaping the ultimate destiny of the nation, Lamar had said in 1879 in deploring the current preoccupation with the politics and history of the eastern seaboard states, would be found "in the mighty West, whose little finger is greater and more potent than the two thighs of South and East united."⁴ In stating the thesis of his study, in the first paragraph of his celebrated essay, Professor Turner expressed the same idea as follows: "Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."⁵

That to Lamar belongs the credit for first stating the theory of the influence of the West in changing the nature of the American government is supported by the fact that Professor Turner, in his development of the theory, leans heavily on Lamar's prior discussion and quotes the latter's summation as epitomizing the working out in actual practice of the frontier hypothesis. In his speech of April 26, 1887, delivered at the dedication of the Calhoun Monument at Charleston, Lamar had given full and consistent expression to his ideas on the subject which were, he said, "not the result of any immediate or continuous preparation but . . . of long

⁴ Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar*, 336.

⁵ Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 1.

years of reflection." After discussing various aspects of the matter, he pointed out:

But a cause more potent than any yet mentioned has operated to determine the character and tendency of our political system. I refer to the acquisition by the Federal Government of the vast territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase, and that ceded by Spain and Mexico to the United States. These territories, far exceeding in area that of the original thirteen States, belonged exclusively to the Federal Government. . . . when they became States it was by the permission of Congress, . . . *In 1789 the States were the creators of the Federal Government; in 1861 the Federal Government was the creator of a large majority of the States.*⁶

According to Professor Turner:

The purchase of Louisiana was perhaps the constitutional turning point in the history of the Republic, inasmuch as it afforded both a new area for national legislation and the occasion of the downfall of the policy of strict construction. But the purchase of Louisiana was called out by frontier needs and demands. As frontier States accrued to the Union the national power grew. *In a speech on the dedication of the Calhoun monument Mr. Lamar explained: "In 1789 the States were the creators of the Federal Government; in 1861 the Federal Government was the creator of a large majority of the States."*⁷

So little known is Lamar's discussion of the influence of western expansion on the evolution of American constitutional government, and so impressive in its finality is his statement which second hand has passed into current historical thinking, that it seems worthwhile here to reproduce verbatim its central thought:

If the constitutional history of the United States had stopped with the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the original thirteen States, it would hardly be questioned that this Government was a Government of sovereign States with every attribute of State sovereignty retained in its system. But the law of development applies to human society as much as to any other created being. . . .

After the adoption of the Constitution, the moral, social and material forces which have always been more powerful in moulding the institutions, in determining the destinies of nations than external legal forms, combined to increase the power and magnify the importance of the General Government of the Union at the expense of that of the particular government of the States. When independence was first achieved the original States lay stretched along the Atlantic coast,

⁶Cunningham (ed.), *A History of the Calhoun Monument*, 69-70. Italics not in the original.

⁷Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 25. Italics not in the original.

sparsely peopled, separated by vast wildernesses, with no means of internal communication and trade, except by stages, pack-horses and sumter-mules on land, and flat-boats, rafts and bateaus on the water. Since then the locomotive and the steamboat not only annihilate distance, but, "like enormous shuttlecocks, shoot across the thousand various threads" of disconnected sections, localities, interests and influences, and bind them into a web, while the electric telegraph transmits to every part of the country, at the same moment, the same intelligence, thus uniting the minds of a vast population in the same thought and emotion.

But a cause more potent than any yet mentioned has operated to determine the character and tendency of our political system. I refer to the acquisition by the Federal Government of the vast territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase, and that ceded by Spain and Mexico to the United States. These territories, far exceeding in area that of the original thirteen States, belonged exclusively to the Federal Government. No separate State Government had the slightest jurisdiction upon one foot of the soil of that vast domain. . . . The population who settled these territories had no political rights save those imparted to them by the Federal Government. . . . when they became States it was by the permission of Congress, which admitted them under such conditions and terms as it deemed proper under the Constitution. . . . when the forces which had been so long agitating the country culminated in war, the relation of the States to the Federal Government had become almost the reverse of what it was at the birth of the Republic. In 1789 the States were the creators of the Federal Government; in 1861 the Federal Government was the creator of a large majority of the States. In 1789 the Federal Government had derived all the powers delegated to it by the Constitution from the States; in 1861 a majority of the States derived all their powers and attributes as States from Congress under the Constitution.

In 1789 the people of the United States were citizens of States originally sovereign and independent; in 1861 a vast majority of the people of the United States were citizens of States that were originally mere dependencies of the Federal Government, which was the author and giver of their political being.⁸

Instead of delivering the conventional eulogy on Calhoun that might have been expected, Lamar was moved to discuss the profound changes in the American government that had been wrought by the opening up of new territory and the consequent admission of new states because—while giving full credit to Calhoun for his logic and intellectual honesty—he wished to point out, according to William M. Meigs in the preface to his monumental "Life" of the Carolinian, the fact that the latter "had entirely neglected to take

⁸ Cunningham (ed.), *A History of the Calhoun Monument*, 68-70.

into view essential matters in our history, which were entitled to great weight against his theories. It [Lamar's critique] was a bold and manly view for a man of the South to present to so highly Southern a community but it seems to have been well received."⁹

Always, and justly so, the frontier hypothesis will be indissolubly associated with the name of Frederick J. Turner who perpetuated himself in his able disciples and whose brilliant series of essays, beginning in 1893, laid the groundwork for perhaps the most important body of historical writings that this country has produced in the last quarter of a century. Nothing can dull the luster of that achievement. It is not amiss, however, to recognize his indebtedness to Lucius Q. C. Lamar—one of America's few original thinkers whose contributions in the field of constitutional law and political philosophy have been too much neglected by the general historian, and who must be accorded a position of increasing importance by students of American institutions.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH AND MISSISSIPPI BONDS¹

By BUFORD ROWLAND

These notes turn around two centers of interest—the shifty bank doings of Mississippi and the money troubles of the Wordsworth family. The purpose of this paper is to point out, from an uncollected letter, recently discovered in *The Banner of the Cross* (Philadelphia), May, 1842,² how even such a minor problem of American history as the debt troubles of a new southwestern state had far-reaching influence. Abundant evidence exists of how London houses and business men were affected by their investments in Mississippi bonds;³ but this letter is significant as evidence of the

⁹ W. M. Meigs, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun* (New York, 1917), I, 16.

¹ The writer is grateful for the criticism and suggestions of Mr. T. G. Steffan and Mr. P. K. McCarter, of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin.

² Leslie N. Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed: The Poet's Correspondence With His American Editor: 1836-1850* (Ithaca, 1933), includes letters to Reed which give evidence of how certain American investments worried and vexed the English poet. All Wordsworth-Reed correspondence cited in this paper is to be found in this book.

³ See R. C. McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts* (New York, 1935).

effect upon the private investor. Since the protests of Wordsworth in his letters and in a sonnet are representative of ordinary English public opinion about such American matters, these few notes are a small contribution to an understanding of the relationship between American and English conditions of the time.

Even when Mississippi was a territory, the legislature incorporated the Bank of Mississippi. The year after she became a state, the legislature changed the name to the Bank of the State of Mississippi, increased its capital, and granted it exclusive banking privileges with power to establish branches where it chose.⁴ Things were quiet for awhile, and the bank was able to be conservative and to establish more firmly the credit of the state. But soon the population began to climb and with it men's ideas. There arose a common cry for more capital, more money, easier and more generous loans.⁵ The Bank of the State of Mississippi grew obsolete—it was conservative with its loans and thus thwarted the ambitions of the planter who was anxious to buy more slaves to clear more land to grow more cotton to clear more land to grow more cotton.

This contagious enthusiasm ran roughly over conservatism as it usually does. When Mississippians with big ideas set out to make things bigger they made pocketbooks smaller in England. There were few people in England at the time more conservative than the Wordsworth group, but even they were caught in the speculation and were left holding the bag. The process was the usual one. The legislature ignored the exclusive franchise of the Bank of the State of Mississippi and optimistically chartered a new one, the Planters' Bank, with a capital of \$3,000,000. Two-thirds of this was cleverly reserved for the state which was to issue bonds to pay for it.⁶ It is easy to see why these bonds were attractive to foreign investors. The state auditor, in 1837, reported that the bank had declared dividends of ten per cent and that

⁴Robert Lowry and William H. McCardle, *A History of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1891), 264.

⁵McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts*, 193.

⁶W. A. Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts* (New York, 1893), 40-41. These bonds were sold in two lots to eastern brokers. Five hundred thousand dollars worth of these 6% bonds brought a premium of $\frac{1}{8}\%$ in 1831. The remainder of the subscription (\$1,500,000) sold in 1833 at a premium of $13\frac{1}{4}\%$. McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts*, 194.

its stock quotations were the highest of any bank in the country.⁷

One English woman who thought she had found a promising investment was the sister of the poet's wife. She bought some of the Planters' Bank bonds in 1835,⁸ and at her death a few years later bequeathed them to her brother, a sister, and to Wordsworth's daughter.⁹ In 1839, however, the bank found itself unable to meet its obligations, and called upon the state to pay the interest on the bonds. The state failed to respond and allowed the interest to go by default.¹⁰ It was this scandalous defection that pinched the family of the Eng-

⁷ Charles H. Brough, "The History of Banking In Mississippi," in Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, III (1900), 323.

⁸ There is no written evidence that the bonds bought were those of the Planters' Bank; but it can be reasonably established that these were the bonds purchased. In Mr. Broughton's edition of the correspondence between Wordsworth and Reed, the bonds were alluded to merely as Mississippi bonds. In a letter to Reed (September 2, 1840) Wordsworth gave the following memorandum on the Mississippi bonds held by members of his family (Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed*, 32):

London 9 Feby 1835. Bot. 6/1000\$ New Mississippi 6 pCt. with divd from 1 Sepbr 1834 @ 110½.	} 1491. 15.—
I. Hutchinson & Son, Brokers.	
London 2 Apr. 1835. Bot. for Saturday 4/4 \$3000 Mississippi 6 pCt. @ 109½	} 739. 2. 6
I. Hutchinson & Son, Brokers.	

On October 30, 1840, Reed, in advising Wordsworth on the value of these bonds, stated that the action of the governor of Mississippi had brought discredit on the bonds but that there was not much apprehension of any breach of faith. *Ibid.*, 38. In a later letter of February 25, 1841, Reed informed Wordsworth that the legislature by a decided majority had "passed a series of resolutions recognizing the validity of the state bonds and the obligation to provide means to discharge the principal and inter[est] as they fall due." *Ibid.*, 46.

In January, 1841, Governor Alexander McNutt advocated the repudiation of both the Planters' Bank bonds and those of the Union Bank. The Union Bank was chartered in 1837; and the sale of state bonds was to supply the capital. As in the case of the Planters' Bank, the faith of the state was pledged to the payment of principal and interest. McNutt's proposal was defeated in both houses of the legislature and a resolution was adopted declaring that "the character, the standing and true glory of the State depend upon the sacred inviolability of its engagements." Brough, "Banking in Mississippi," *loc cit.*, 335. It is evident that this was the resolution to which Reed alluded in his February letter to Wordsworth. As the bonds which the governor advocated repudiating were those of the Planters' Bank and the Union Bank, Wordsworth must have held bonds of one or the other. They could not have been Union Bank bonds, for these were not issued until 1837. The bill of sale made out to Wordsworth showed that the bonds held by his family were purchased in 1835. They therefore must have been Planters' Bank bonds.

⁹ Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed*, 153.

¹⁰ Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, 41.

lish poet who complained to his American editor, to Bishop Doane of New Jersey (in the letter recently unearthed), and finally expressed his indignation in a sonnet.

In his first letter to Reed on the subject, Wordsworth said:

You will be sorry to learn that several of my most valued friends are likely to suffer from monetary derrangements in America. My family however is no way directly entangled in them unless the Mississip[p]i bonds prove invalid[.] There is an opinion pretty current among discerning persons in England that Republics are not to be trusted in money concerns;—I suppose because the sense of honor is more obtuse, the responsibility being divided among so many. For my own part I have as little or less faith in absolute despotism, except that they are more easily convinced that it is politic to keep up their credit by holding to their engagements.¹¹

Later Wordsworth requested Reed to give “us information of the Miss[iss]ippi concern in which my daughter and other relatives is interested. . . .”¹² In reply to this request Reed wrote:

Respecting the Mississippi bonds I am still more at a loss and find greater difficulty in securing information. . . . I made some inquiries on the subject, but finding there was some difference between the bonds issued by that State at different times, I Could ascertain nothing, as I did not know the particular character of those in which your family is interested. If you will inform me more particularly, as to thier date I may be successful in my inquiries. As it is, I can only say that there prevails here a general distrust in regard to the pecuniary affairs of the South-western States and especially Mississippi. The losses in Philadelphia on the part of individuals and public institutions, have been very severe from that quarter. . . . Things can hardly be worse than they have been for some time past, and I cannot but think that the State of Missis[s]ippi will find itself obligated (for it does not want ability) to take measures to retrieve its credit.¹³

In other letters Reed further expressed his belief that Mississippi would meet her obligations;¹⁴ but Wordsworth was skeptical. “As to Mississippi Bonds I have little hope about them. The remittances for payment of interest have . . . now failed, and I fear that the reputation for integrity in those Southern States is very low indeed.”¹⁵

¹¹ Wordsworth to Reed, Dec. 23, 1839, in Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed*, 15.

¹² Wordsworth to Reed, May 26, 1840, *ibid.*, 23.

¹³ Reed to Wordsworth, Aug. 17, 1840, *ibid.*, 30.

¹⁴ Reed to Wordsworth, Oct. 30, 1840, Feb. 25, 1841, *ibid.*, 38, 46.

¹⁵ Wordsworth to Reed, May 15, 1841, *ibid.*, 49.

As time passed and the legislature of Mississippi took no steps to meet the interest payment on her just obligations, Wordsworth became bitter. "As to Mississippi and some other States, I think they are abandoned to utter profl[ig]acy and in the course of a righteous Providence will be doomed to suffer for their iniquity."¹⁶

At this point Wordsworth wrote the recently discovered letter to Bishop Doane. He wrote it, perhaps, to bring church prestige to his aid. The Bishop printed the letter in the official church publication, *The Banner of the Cross*. It made such good news that part of the letter reappeared in the *Philadelphia Gazette* and the *National Intelligencer*.¹⁷ The ambitious energies of Mississippi planters had been strong enough to bound into retired English families, but in this instance they certainly rebounded with such force that an official church organ publicized the disgrace. Wordsworth was angry and showed it:

My daughter, through the perfidy of the State of Mississippi, has forfeited a sum, though but small in itself, large for her means; and a great portion of my most valued friends have to lament their misplaced confidence. Topics of this kind are not pleasant to dwell upon, but the more extensively the injury is made known, the more likely is it, that where any remains of integrity, honour, or even common humanity exists, efforts will be made to set and keep things right.¹⁸

Wordsworth was not content merely to hint that the Bishop make the injury more extensively known. He was so indignant over what he regarded as an outrage that he appealed to America in a sonnet. If indeed there were "any remains of integrity, honour, or even common humanity," he was determined to see if poetic rebuke would stir those doubtful remains.

Men of the Western World! in Fate's dark book
Whence these opprobrious leaves of dire portent?
Think ye your British Ancestors forsook
Their native Land, for outraged provident;
From unsubmissive necks the bridle shook

¹⁶ Wordsworth to Reed, Mar. 1, 1842, *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁷ See *National Intelligencer*, May 14, 1842.

¹⁸ Wordsworth to Doane, *Banner of the Cross*, May, 1842. Undoubtedly some of Wordsworth's friends held Union Bank bonds the interest on which the state, as in case of the Planters' Bank bonds, allowed to go by default. The Union Bank bonds were repudiated by the Mississippi legislature on Feb. 26, 1842. See McGrane, *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts*, 194-205.

To give, in their Descendants, freer vent
 And wider range to passions turbulent,
 To mutual tyranny a deadlier look?
 Nay, said a voice, soft as the south wind's breath,
 Dive through the stormy surface of the flood
 To the great current flowing underneath;
 Explore the countless springs of silent good;
 So shall the truth be better understood,
 And thy grieved Spirit brighten strong in faith.¹⁹

Though the poet had little faith in the honesty of Mississippi, he never gave up hope completely. In one of his last letters to Reed, he continued to ask whether the state might still meet its obligations.

. . . have you any means of learning what probability there is of Missis[s]ippi state discharging its obligations. Every one seems to think that honesty is at a lower ebb there than in any other part of the United States. My daughter and others of my kindred has [sic] as I have told you, for them, a considerable interest in those funds; and in a portion of them which has not been repudiated. And I should be glad to learn that there is some chance of getting back what they can so ill spare. But I have a special reason for desiring to have knowledge on this point, as it would in some degree govern my distribution by will of my property among my children.²⁰

This querulous concern of an old man who naturally resented whatever might interfere with the terms of his will is curious evidence of the intimate connection between the debt troubles of a distant American state and the domestic affairs of a well known but secluded English family.

¹⁹ A. J. George (ed.), *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (Students Cambridge Edition, New York, 1904), 770. The sonnet was not written in 1842. Wordsworth in a note indicated that he turned a sonnet previously written to this new purpose: "These lines were written several years ago, when reports prevailed of cruelties committed in many parts of America, by men making a law of their own passions. A far more formidable, as being a more deliberate mischief, has appeared among those States, which have lately broken faith with the public creditor in a manner so infamous. I cannot, however, but look at both evils under a similar relation to inherent good, and I hope that the time is not distant when our brethren of the West will wipe off this stain from their name and nation." This sonnet was also applicable to Pennsylvania. See Buford Rowland, "William Wordsworth and Pennsylvania State Bonds," in *Pennsylvania Magazine Of History and Biography*, LIX (1935), 301-303.

²⁰ Wordsworth to Reed, July 5, 1844, in Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed*, 129. During the previous year (March 23, 1843) Wordsworth, in answer to an offer of assistance from Sargent S. Prentiss, in bringing suit, had stated that "the suffering parties" had "no funds for acting" and that he still hoped for "taxes . . . imposed exclusively for discharging these obligations," which would "be hailed as the dawn of a coming day." This letter (addressed to George L. Prentiss) and S. S. Prentiss' letter to which it replies are available in [George Lewis Prentiss] (ed.), *A Memoir of S. S. Prentiss* (New York, 1856), II, 261-267.

At the time of Wordsworth's death in 1850, the Planters' Bank bonds were still in default.²¹ In 1852, the people of Mississippi, by a majority of 4000, defeated a proposition to pay the interest on these bonds by a tax levy.²² The constitution adopted in 1890 contained a clause which forbade the state to pay any "bond or bonds known . . . as . . . Planters' Bank bonds."²³ Thus ended a disgraceful chapter in Mississippi's history.

²¹ In the spring of 1846, however, Governor A. G. Brown of Mississippi sold three of the poet's \$1,000 bonds for \$2,250. S. P. McCutchen, "The Political Career of Albert Gallatin Brown" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1929), 65, n. 27. In this year there was a temporary demand for these bonds; the legislature had authorized their acceptance from debtors in payment for certain land donated by the United States as an internal improvement fund and also in payment for 30,000 additional acres to be placed upon the market. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi* (Atlanta, 1907), I, 202-203.

²² Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, 42-43.

²³ Art. XIV, sec. 258.

Book Reviews

Romance of the Floridas: The Finding and the Founding. By Michael Kenny. (New York: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1934. Pp. xxiii, 395. \$3.75.)

The bulk of the material in Father Kenny's history of early Spanish Florida falls nicely into the categories which he has provided. The first wave of exploration and discovery is blended deftly with Pedro Menéndez de Aviles's occupation of a strategic stronghold on the Bahama Channel in Part I. Solidifying the occupation and the ever-present missionization likewise fall logically into Part II. In the first part there are many subjects of intrinsic interest of which the American public never tires, and Father Kenny smoothly summarizes the exploits and practical achievements of well-known explorers as Pineda, Ponce de León, Hernando de Soto, Pánfilo de Narváez, Cabeza de Vaca, and other distinguished Spanish contributors to geographical knowledge. While the author seems to have a feeling for this first part also, the impression is gleaned that it is a mere prelude to be followed by the full strains of the composition in which he delights—the Jesuits and their achievements in the South Atlantic region. The treatment is thinned out considerably in the last pages of the book in order to touch briefly on the later Jesuits. The long intervening Franciscan period is treated sympathetically, but not with the proportion and richness of detail displayed in the Jesuit story. It seems fairly obvious that Father Kenny was trying to avoid a duplication of the articles on that subject. No one would urge this particular historian to elaborate upon the more important Franciscans (in Florida) when his own particular connections give him unique qualifications for the subject he discussed and perhaps adequate justification for the emphasis he placed upon its various parts. One is particularly struck with the fullness of detail provided in the pictures of Fathers Segura, Quirós, Martínez, Augustín Báez, and other distinguished Jesuits. Father Kenny has given us more upon each of them than can be found about any one of them in all other materials in English combined. For the clean-cut place given San Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, all interested in the history of Spanish missionization will be grateful. It was the churchman's exploitation of church books which gives this treatment its superiority.

After the well-rounded story of a decade of the Jesuits, the bland application of the torch to a number of textbook legends presents a

resourceful historian entirely divested of any slavish or unwarranted deference to historical authority. In reiterating and in adducing new proofs to sustain the thesis that Menéndez de Avilés was not Parkman's "pious cutthroat," but Spain's most farseeing imperialist, patriot, and churchman, scholarship scores another triumph over the black legend and the campaign of defamation against the Spaniards set on foot fully fifteen years before Menéndez appeared in Florida. The same critical, probing faculty hoists into the light of day many another subject which needs airing. The authors gainsaid, whether directly or indirectly, would no doubt take sharp exception to some of the controversial contentions, and perhaps occasionally with justice on their side.

Technically the book has a good appearance. Historical drawings, both half-tone and plain pen-and-ink, form a pleasant relief from the printed page. The endsheets, in the form of embellished maps, present the data so far collected on Apalache, Timucua, and Guale. The bibliography, arranged in the form of a simple list, unfortunately does not include specific archival materials. This list gives evidence of considerable scouring, especially in the printed matter. While the notes are sometimes written at the bottom of the page, in other instances they are inserted in the text by means of parentheses. There is a plethora of quotations. Any name which is joined to the given name by means of a preposition is conventionalized as in the more general case of De Leon. For example, in the index we read De Córdoba or De Corpa. Too many names are therefore improperly entered under one letter. No set of modern documents could be more trying than those of sixteenth century Spain and, instead of taking minute and inconsequential exception, we should congratulate a man with the courage to wrestle with them.

JOHN TATE LANNING

Duke University

Florida, Old and New. By Frederick W. Dau. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934. Pp. xii, 377. \$5.00.)

This book is a running sketch of anything in Florida history that has become interesting to the author with some slight attempts to bridge the gaps. In short it is such a history as one would expect from a retired business man turned collector and historian. Beginning on the safe note of Christopher Columbus, Mr. Dau is given pause by such items as Juan Ponce de León, Ribaut and Laudonnière, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Spanish colonial life, Oglethorpe, the Revolutionary War, the governors of Florida, education, hurricanes, etc.,

up to forty-four chapters, ranging chronologically from 1492 to 1935. The work is punctured here and there by illustrations (some of them with no particular point) taken, for the most part, from the originals in the collection of the author.

One hardly knows whether to classify this book as a text, a handbook, or a diversion. In it many curious and extraneous items are blended with the more solid history of Florida. The author feels no hesitancy in breaking the continuity of his narrative to advise the government to return the body of Chief Ocoela from South Carolina to Florida, to inform us that the Gregorian calendar replaced the Julian, to condemn land hoarders who retard civic progress, to toss laurels at the feet of the eminent academic liberal, Hamilton Holt, of Rollins College, and to compare Oglethorpe to Chauncey Depew.

The usefulness of such a book as this would at best be felt only by laymen who want to know something of Florida better to enjoy a sojourn at the beach. Its lack of literary and scientific virtues render it useless as a text. It is unfair to appraise a general book on the basis of standards set up for monographs, but it would be an injustice to the buying public not to examine a few pages with the critical eye as a sample of what may be expected throughout. In the section devoted to "Franciscan Monasteries" the narrative is freely interspersed with "about this time." The Gualean revolt along the golden isles from St. Catherines to Cumberland in which five missions were attacked and in which five friars lost their lives is described in this way:

"It seems about this time that certain Indians who had claimed to have been converted to Christianity attacked one if not two of the missions close to the city of St. Augustine and actually killed two of the brothers while officiating at the altar, who died with prayers on their lips for their murderers."

On the next page the establishment of the missions where the fathers (only one brother had been killed) had already been murdered is taken up, the author following some unreliable translation of the original documents to write Tapouqui for Tupique, Annon for Auñón, Antonio Lego for Antonio Badajoz, lego, and Francisco de Avila for Francisco Dávila, and to make other similar renditions—all on one page (p. 103). In the list of forty-five Spanish governors of Florida (pp. 244-245) there are sixty obvious mistakes and omissions. As an illustration, one of the governors is called "Harrisgtessor." The author has not mentioned his source and has blithely assumed the responsibility for this travesty against the Castilian tongue. Despite these discourage-

ments the author earlier in the book undertook to quote Spanish, and with this unfortunate result: "No por Franceses, sino por *Lutherans*." Not a single item in the bibliography appears to be entered correctly.

When we pass from the part of the story based upon Spanish documents to that based upon the English, we continue in the same strain. From the dedication ("Dedicated to my wife Sadon Giblyn Dau whose boundless patience and unfailing assistance has [*sic*] made this book possible") we get a glimmer of what is to come. From the chapter on Oglethorpe this is the sample English of a sample sentence:

"James Oglethorpe was born of good family on December 21st, 1688, died June 30th, 1785, living to the age of ninety-seven years and retaining his faculties to the last, in spite of a life of great dangers and often suffering wounds and hardships." Here we have the old rubbish about the philanthropy of Oglethorpe repeated. While "as a director in the Royal African Company he came in close touch with, and conceived a life-long horror of slavery . . .," the fact that Oglethorpe was also a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—one to traffic in slaves and the other in souls—is not mentioned.

The exposition of the causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear is highly amusing. "The cause of the war between England and Spain, which lasted nine years and cost millions, arose from a comparatively small matter, 'a man's ear.'" Then it is related that Captain Jenkins, having been strung up to the yardarm and an ear slit off in the "West Indian Seas," with a degree of political foresight admirable in a captain of the salted deep, picked up the detached member, wrapped it in paper and put it in his pocket for political reference. "When he reached England he strode into the House of Parliament, boiling with resentment and demanded revenge on Spain." It must have been a long voyage back to England, for it was eight years before he appeared in the "House of Parliament," and he did not "stride" in; he was carried there (and even that is doubtful) by the political enemies of Walpole and carefully coached about what to say. This Jenkins' ear incident was only one weapon in a large armory of opposition propaganda. Besides, Georgia (a fact overlooked in the book) was as important as the Caribbean problems in bringing on the war.

In passing over his sources with a gesture, the author observes:

"Suffice it to say there is today, on the shelves of any good reference library, so much valuable 'source material' that further efforts along historical lines can be used to much greater advantage in preparing what we already have, for public consumption, than by spending money to hunt for new game of doubtful quality and value."

There is little more that one can say about a book whose author's attitude toward scholarship is supercilious. The author claims that his purpose in writing the book was to explain the mistakes that have arisen as a result of the disparity between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars. That he may well have done, but it would have been more obvious and much less burdensome to the peruser to have had the corrections in a more condensed form. There may be room, in the shape of a one volume history, for preparing the source materials for "public consumption," but this is not it. No publisher should undertake the publication of a book on Florida or any Hispanic subject without a specialist in Romance languages on the staff. Wherever publishers accept manuscripts to be published for a price, professional pride ought to dictate careful editing and proofreading. If the author and publisher had required the services of a professional historian, this book could have been converted into a highly useful résumé.

JOHN TATE LANNING

Duke University

A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, or Voyages of a Frenchman Exiled for His Religion, with a Description of Virginia & Maryland. With an introduction & notes by Gilbert Chinard. (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934. Pp. 189. \$5.00.)

A Huguenot in Exile is the description mainly of the travels in Virginia and Maryland in the latter part of the seventeenth century of a French nobleman, Durand of Dauphiné, who, having fled from his native land after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, reached London in March, 1686, after a sojourn of several months in Italy. The following May, he sailed for Carolina on an emigrant ship with sixty passengers on board, most of them "very honest people," excepting "twelve prostitutes & fifteen of the boldest & most insolent scoundrels in all England," indentured later as servants by the captain. After nineteen weeks of vicissitudes and hardships—the ration at one time comprising "three pounds of mouldy biscuit a week & a pitcher of water a day," with the consequent result that Durand was forced upon landing to "draw in the belt to my breeches sixteen inches"—the vessel was shipwrecked on the Virginia shore in Gloucester County. The most significant event of the voyage to Durand was the making of the acquaintance of a fellow passenger, a Mr. Isné, who proved subsequently to be an English lord traveling as a merchant.

From September, 1686, to March, 1687, this French exile remained in Virginia, observing the people, land, and crops, and visiting many

plantations with his English friend, Lord Parker. For the populace, he had scant respect, but he found the "people of quality" courteous and honorable. On one occasion, he attended the meeting of "Parliament" and observed that its members were "fine-looking men booted and belted with swords," but they gambled inordinately. On another occasion, he attended the wedding of a Huguenot compatriot, a former indentured servant, noting that meats and drinks of all kinds, save wine, were served and consumed in large quantities; and he recorded for us the ingredients of colonial punch, drunk so freely on festive occasions: "three jugs of beer, three jugs of brandy, three pounds of sugar, some nutmeg & cinnamon."

Among the plantations visited by Durand were those of Ralph Wormeley and of Colonel William Fitzhugh, the owner of immense tracts on the Potomac, who treated him royally and who summoned to entertain his guests "three fiddlers, a jester, a tight-rope dancer, [and] an acrobat." These gentlemen sought to interest Durand in the establishment of Huguenot settlements within Virginia and offered the most favorable terms in regard to land and credit. As a fillip to him, a young widow, "good-looking [and] childless," with a thousand acres, over whom Wormeley had great influence and who was anxious to marry a "man of quality," was to be thrown in to boot; but as Durand still hoped to witness the restoration of the "religion" in France and as marriage was far from his thoughts, he regretfully declined the proffered hand of this colonial lady.

On his return voyage to England, Durand reflected upon the feasibility of planting Huguenot colonies in the new world and came to the conclusion that, if exile should be the future lot of his coreligionists, then Virginia was to be preferred to the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. Having learned, however, upon his landing of the continued intolerable conditions in France and having seen the large number of exiles in England, increased twenty times during his absence, Durand reluctantly abandoned all hopes of returning to his native country, and urged the Huguenot exiles in England to accept the "propositions" in regard to land which he brought back with him from Virginia and to emigrate to that land, "the most beautiful and the best country" that he had ever seen. Whether or not our exile returned to Virginia is not known, although he expressed the earnest desire to do so, if his health permitted. He did, however, as Professor Chinard says in his excellent introduction, bequeath, in his description of Virginia, to his fellow exiles escaped from France, "the vision and the promise of a new country where they and their children could practice their religion and find again their lost happiness."

It should be added that *A Huguenot in Exile* is perhaps the first account of travel in Virginia and also the earliest personal impression of colonial society and life of seventeenth century Virginia. The first edition was printed at The Hague, 1687.

W. G. BEAN

Washington and Lee University

The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, in Georgia. By Sarah Blackwell Gober Temple. (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. xiii, 901. \$5.00.)

The state of Georgia celebrated her bicentennial in 1933. Preliminary to the celebration, the legislature, in 1929, recommended that the grand jury in each of the counties appoint a historian to prepare an official history of the county. The appointment of Mrs. Temple as historian of Cobb County was in many respects a fortunate one. She took her task seriously and set about gathering material in an orderly manner. She not only traversed every part of the county, conversing with the oldest inhabitants and picking up information by word of mouth, but she also visited every cemetery and recorded the names, dates and other information found on the markers. She searched diligently in the published sources bearing on the county. Furthermore, she delved in local court records, and the diaries, journals and correspondence found in the attics and store rooms of the inhabitants. With all this available material, it is to be regretted that she incorporated so much "hearsay" information in her work. Indefatigable in gathering material, the author's use of data is not always satisfactory. She found her task "a vigorous business, the search for truth laborious and compelling. Writing history is a profound spiritual experience comparable to no other that I know. It demands a peculiar honesty and loyalty even beyond that of the relationships of every day life" (p. ix). She writes with refreshing frankness and does not attempt to deal with problems which she was unable to clear up to her own satisfaction. For instance, she says that she "could never piece together an adequate story of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Cobb County. . . . I have therefore omitted it altogether" (p. vi). In spite of such a view of history and the historian, the author projects her philosophy of life into her pages and writes a very personal and subjective history.

The First Hundred Years is a pretentious book for a county history. It contains about all the information on Cobb County, and the life of its people, which could be compiled. Much of the material in the body of the book should have been omitted, or at least relegated

to the "Notes" which occupy 83 of the 901 pages. For instance there are pages and pages devoted to the location of the various divisions and regiments in the battle of Kennesaw Mountain. And then, not content with this mass of detail irrelevant to a county history, the author speculates on the "probable" location of other military units. Again, in her effort to explain the location of the local "Sandtown Road," she loses her reader in a mass of confusing detail. One major defect of the book is to be found in the fact that the author failed to weigh and balance her information, and hence included the unimportant as well as significant facts. The book might well be cut to almost half its present size.

The author uses a combination of the chronological and topical treatment, but is more successful with the former than with the latter method. Four chapters suffice for the problem of the organization of the county. Then follow chapters on settlement, pioneer families, Indians, transportation, towns, newspapers, schools, slavery and agriculture, and politics in the ante-bellum period. The treatment in these chapters is by decades. Nine chapters tell the story of the Civil War and reconstruction. Again there are chapters on education, social life, industrial development, railroads and highways, and political life down to 1900. The period from 1900 to 1934 gets two chapters without topical headings. On the whole the proportion, both as to time and subject matter, is admirable. The weakest part of the book is in the treatment of agriculture which, being the chief economic interest, should have had a more extended discussion. In her treatment of local problems the author is thoroughly at home, but in her attempt to integrate local with state and national history she sometimes falls into error. For instance, we are told (p. 221) that Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia in 1850. References to the "colonial period of our national history" and to Congress issuing proclamations show lack of familiarity with the usages of historical terms. That the slaveholders of Georgia, as late as the eighteen-fifties, looked upon slavery as an incubus which they desired to eradicate is hardly tenable. And, again, the view that the Democratic party of the East had united with the Abolitionists by 1851 cannot be accepted without proof.

But the good features of *The First Hundred Years* far outweigh the bad ones. The book, because of its local nature, cannot have a general appeal; yet it is an interesting story which the author tells, typical not only of the upper counties of Georgia but of much of the Piedmont section of the South. As the story unfolds, we see a pioneer people wrest the frontier from the Indians and build up a stable society,

only to have it destroyed by four dreary years of warfare. With their homes, schools, churches, and property destroyed, the people set to work and in a generation built a finer and better civilization than that destroyed. The story is embellished with a wealth of interesting local material. The book will be of immense value to students of genealogy for, in addition to the vast store of personal and family history contained in the body of the text, there are 294 pages containing the names of all county officials, veterans of wars, and those buried in the county cemeteries. The bibliography, however, is disappointing in that it contains very little local and manuscript records. While the book suffers from the weaknesses of local history, written by untrained historians, it has many of the qualities of the newer, scholarly history so sadly lacking in many local works. All in all *The First Hundred Years* is a most welcome and valuable addition to Georgia.

FLETCHER M. GREEN

Emory University

The Atlantic and Slavery. By H. A. Wyndham. (London: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. viii, 310. \$4.50.)

Zachary Macaulay: His Part in the Movement for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and of Slavery. By Charles Booth. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934. Pp. 119. \$2.40.)

The first of these volumes is described as "a report of the study group series of the Royal Institute of International Affairs," an "unofficial and nonpolitical body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions." An earlier report of the group dealt with native education in the East; the subject matter of this one is perhaps better suggested by the title of the series than by the title of the particular volume, which is concerned with the relations of European nations to subject or backward peoples on both sides of the Atlantic. Obviously such a study should begin on the coast of West Africa, where throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries Portuguese and Dutch, Brandenburgers, French, and English maneuvered for control of the lucrative African trade. Permanent settlement was achieved by the Portuguese alone. The nations coming in their wake were attempting only to maintain friendly relations with native chiefs in order that they might pursue the slave trade to the greatest advantage. On the Gold Coast the trading companies of the several competing nations were allowed to establish trading posts protected by forts; on the Slave Coast they

obtained no such privilege but were obliged to traffic with native traders directly. When the lax rule of the Portuguese gave way to the efficient government of the Dutch, efforts to penetrate and settle were well-nigh brought to an end though the English made spasmodic and short-lived attempts to develop settlements and to build up African agriculture and native industries which should supply articles of commerce other than slaves. In general, the French were less successful in maintaining stable and friendly relations with the natives than were either the English or the Dutch.

The lack of unity and proportion in this section of the work is pardonable because of the nature of the material on which the author must rely. The history of the long period of Portuguese domination is especially limited by the meagerness of the available sources. To the reviewer it seems that an organization of the material which traced either the activities of each nation on the coast or the history of each section of the coast would have resulted in clearer pictures and sharper contrasts than emerge from the author's effort to combine these two possible methods of treatment. To this attempt may be attributed certain omissions for which there seems no clear reason, for example a treatment of the English in the Gambia region before 1765.

The interesting chapter on conditions of trading is largely confined to English sources and describes for the most part English trade though excellent material on the French trade has recently been made available in print. For the Congo and Angola regions the emphasis is on the Portuguese missions, possibly because accounts of Portuguese attempts to convert the natives here are easily accessible. One is left in doubt as to whether the Church made corresponding efforts in other parts of Africa or not.

Part II deals with the eastern coast of the Americas, where the problems to be treated are manifold and the material overwhelming. Here the problem of selection defies satisfactory solution. The author has chosen to deal with the Spanish in Mexico, the Portuguese in Brazil, the Jesuits in Paraguay and Uruguay, and the English in the southern colonies of North America. This omits treatment (in this section) of the French in America and of the West Indies. The assimilative policy of the Spaniards, and in part of the Portuguese, in their dealings with the natives of the New World was in sharp contrast with the policy of race separation pursued by the English to the north of them. Possibly the most useful service of the volume is the bringing into a single survey the widely diverse material relating to all this and thus making possible a contrast between Latin and English methods of building an empire in the western continent.

The third division of the work deals with the legal status of slavery and some of its effects. The justification of the institution is found in the acceptance of the complete sovereignty of the African in his own land. If he is sovereign he is free to enslave his own people if he chooses. The European may therefore without scruple accept the slave status imposed upon Africans by their own chiefs. This salved the conscience of many traders and resolved many of the contradictions to be found in the relations between blacks and whites. However, it provided no method by which the English trader could under all circumstances be certain that the slave he purchased was actually a slave under African custom, therefore, uneasy consciences could not be entirely eliminated. After a preliminary statement of the grounds on which slavery was justified the author turns to the actual African origins of slavery and some of the scruples of the Church; he then considers slavery in Mexico, Brazil, the West Indies, and North America. Laws and customs governing the intermixture of races, the education of the blacks, the relation of free black to slave, and a host of other topics find place here. Again, a useful service is rendered by making it possible to contrast the place of the Negro under the Latin and English rule. Racial discrimination and repression are to be found everywhere, though in varying degrees, leading to social, economic, and political problems not yet solved.

The opening of the west coast of Africa to European trade, the growth of the traffic in slaves, and the part this traffic played in imperial development should by now be familiar to all readers of history, so frequently have they been described in recent years. In this small volume by Charles Booth the story of the slave trade and its abolition told with brevity and simplicity, furnishes the background for the account of the activities of Zachary Macaulay, one of the foremost protagonists of abolition. The work does not purport to be a life of that most interesting father of a more famous son, but rather, as it says, "an appreciation" of his labor in the cause of the Negro. Macaulay's own account of his misspent youth in a Glasgow counting house and on a Jamaica plantation, already printed (with unaccountable variations) in the Viscountess Knutsford's *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay* opens the tale. From Jamaica, after a sojourn of four years in which he seems to have surmounted early difficulties and to have learned to control if not to smother his repugnance to slavery as he saw it in operation, he returned to England, lured by the offer of a position with an uncle. On his arrival the promised position seems to have vanished and he went at once to a sister who

during his absence had married the reformer, Thomas Babington. From this time Macaulay seems to have cast his lot with the group of indomitable humanitarians the leaders of whom were Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and Babington. For the first time the youth was brought into contact with his superiors and he quickly responded to their influence. His uncouth manners were corrected, his dogmatic assertions were tempered, the moral standards of his early youth restored.

At this time Granville Sharpe had already made one disastrous attempt to establish a settlement for free blacks in Africa and a second venture was under way. In a few months the directors of the new Sierra Leone Trading Company sent Macaulay on a preliminary voyage to Sierra Leone and on his return to England he was almost at once sent back as second on the Council of the settlement. At twenty-six he was made governor.

His achievements on the west coast it would be difficult to exaggerate. With firmness and tact he adjusted the relations between the colony and neighboring slave traders, native, European, and American, between freedmen and native Africans, between company official and company official. He was teacher and accountant, preacher and judge, governor and agricultural director. On him the company at home depended for knowledge of what went on in this outpost of freedom; his duty it was to quell insurrection in the settlement, and to protect it, in so far as he was able, from the depredations of the French. In 1794 he was powerless to prevent the looting of the town by French revolutionaries but they had scarcely departed before he was hard at work restoring order and rebuilding the town. Ill health sent him to England for an eight months' holiday in 1795 but he returned to spend three more years as governor.

From his return to England in 1799 until the passage of the Emancipation Act in 1833 apparently his faith and his courage never flagged. Undaunted his group worked first for the abolition of the slave trade, then for the enforcement of the law abolishing it, and lastly for the emancipation of the slaves. Macaulay published innumerable pamphlets; he was the editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter*; "Every Member of Parliament, every foreigner of distinction, or individual in our own country, who wanted any information relative to Africa, in connection with the subject of the Slave Trade or Slavery, applied to Mr. Macaulay." His absorption in his work for the cause contributed to the loss of his own fortune but this seems never to have been a source of anxiety to him. He lived to see the passage of the bill for which he had labored but not for long after that.

In describing the work of Macaulay the author has given many brief yet illuminating pictures of those who worked with him, and the reader will feel on finishing the book that he has been dwelling in a company marked by nobility and unselfish devotion. The brief sketch deserves many readers. It will have served a useful purpose if it sends them to the fuller account of Macaulay's life by his granddaughter, the Viscountess Knutsford.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

Wellesley College

Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South. By William Sumner Jenkins. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xi, 381. \$2.50.)

Believing that "a number of specialized fields must be investigated before a definitive history of American thought can be accomplished" Professor Jenkins offers this study with the hope that it "will serve to forward the larger task." His purpose is to "indicate the various thought trends, to evaluate their significance, and to estimate their weight in the entire body of pro-slavery thought" (p. vii). In this scholarly analysis of the component parts of the slavery defense, the author not only accomplishes his purpose, but also gives students of American history an excellent reference book on the subject.

The first two chapters trace the historical development of pro-slavery thought from 1660 to 1860, from a quiescent condition to one of positive aggression. The relation of Puritanism, Quakerism, and the natural rights philosophy to the early phase of the slavery controversy is established, together with the theories of religious instruction of the slaves, which served to dispel the idea that baptism would change the status of the slave, thus paving the way for the missionary activities of the Established Church.

A period of conservative reaction followed this outburst of radicalism, and from 1790 to 1820 the proslavery defense lay dormant, but southern defenders stood ready to catch any note of criticism and chant their arguments in reply. The debates over the admission of Missouri inevitably turned on slavery and were conducted with such vigor that many an American besides the second Adams, Jefferson, and Cobb were filled with alarm when speculating upon the outcome. The southern replies to antislavery critics served further to clarify the muddy waters of the defense, and for the next fifteen years the southern arguments show marked progress in the development of a well-rounded

theory. It was during the decade following the admission of Missouri that the theory of slavery as a "positive good" was developed, and, significant to note, its statement preceded the Garrisonian movement and was not in answer to it (p. 77).

While southern opinion had been divided on the proslavery question before 1830, the debates in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1830-1831, followed by a formal repudiation of the liberal philosophy of Jefferson, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, serve as a convenient turning point. From that date until 1860 the slavery defenders expanded familiar theories, polished and dressed them to such a degree that they were satisfied to offer the finished product to critics everywhere.

The last five chapters constitute an analysis of the proslavery argument in its finished form. Chapter III deals with the theories of slavery—legalistic and philosophic arguments on its nature, origin, legal basis, and future—concluding with the demands for the reopening of the foreign slave trade and the preparations for the extension of slavery.

The analysis of the relation of slavery to government is an excellent summary of the situation. The status of slavery within the state, its relation to the Federal Constitution and to republican government are carefully examined, and in the conflict of opinion that followed the proponents of slavery endeavored to prove that slavery was intimately related to the preservation of free institutions from the revolutionary spirit of the nineteenth century.

Accompanying the legal and constitutional theories was moral philosophy, used to refute the argument that always, under all conditions, the relation of owner and slave was a sin, *per se*. Exhaustive research of the scriptures resulted in a formidable array of evidence which could only be answered by a liberal interpretation of the Bible. This naturally carried with it the necessity for the church to develop a code of slavery ethics, but the process was difficult and did not engender harmony among the proslavery forces.

Finally an attempt was made to base the institution of slavery upon a scientific foundation. In the arguments that followed, based upon the conclusions of anthropologists, anatomists, and naturalists, with the design of proving that the Negro was created inferior and that slavery was his natural condition, theories of the origin of the races and the types of mankind were developed only to bring the ethnological defenders in conflict with the moral philosophers.

Chapter VII—Theories of Slave Society—analyzes the theories of slavery as a social system, in which slave society is compared with

free, and discusses the problems of capital and labor as seen by the slavery defenders, and the general benefits both to the individual and to society.

The disciples of the school of economic interpretation will not be satisfied with this study, but they should keep in mind the purpose of the work. While the student of the ante-bellum South will find little new in this book, teachers and students of American history will welcome it as an excellent summary of the proslavery thought. The book is remarkably free from errors, although on page 219 the King James Version of the Bible appears as the "Saint James" Version. The bibliography is comprehensive and well arranged, and the index is entirely adequate.

RALPH B. FLANDERS

New York University

Stage Coach Days in the Bluegrass. By J. Winston Coleman, Jr. (Louisville: The Standard Press, 1935. Pp. 286. \$2.50.)

To the present generation of Americans the stagecoach, the turnpike and the tollgate are almost as unknown as buffaloes and Indian massacres. Yet at one time, and a time not so long past, these three things were an essential part of everyday life, their existence so taken for granted that description seemed unnecessary and undeserved. From many out-of-the-way places, from newspaper advertisements, from court records, from travel journals, local histories and personal reminiscences, Mr. Coleman has pieced together for central Kentucky a description of the stagecoach days which the railroad and the automobile have hustled into almost complete oblivion.

Lexington was always the center of the Bluegrass stage lines, as it is today of the bus lines. Prior to the war of 1812 this pre-eminence of Lexington in the industry seems to have been due primarily to the energy of its people rather than the location of the town since the two chief lines ran from Lexington rather than to it. One of them took people to the popular health resort of Olympian Springs; the other led them to the political resort of Frankfort. Both lines were established in 1803, neither was permanent, and the palmy days of the stagecoach came with the Great Migration following the War of 1812. The immigrants came down the Ohio river bound for the Bluegrass and stagecoach lines were opened from Lexington to meet them at the river ports of Maysville, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Every little town in central Kentucky was soon connected with Lexington by stage as the region became more thickly settled, industry expanded and

travel increased. This early coaching business was handicapped by rude coaches and unpaved roads, so that traveling was always uncomfortable and slow. The introduction of the Concord coach and the development of macadamized roads revolutionized the business and a period of great prosperity ensued until the coming of the railroad. With many growlings the coach retreated before the locomotive and made its last stand in the regions unreached by the railroads.

The author devotes considerable space to the accessories of the stagecoach. The opening chapter deals (in general terms) with the development of pioneer roads from Indian traces and buffalo trails. A later chapter describes the macadamized road system, not omitting mention of the tollgates which gave the roads their distinctive name, "turnpikes." There are many descriptions of taverns and inns, a list of which is given in an appendix. The organization of the business, the competition of different lines, the consequent racing and, quite as consequent, accidents receive full treatment. One of the most interesting portions of the book is the description of the struggles for supremacy between the stagecoach and the railroad.

Thus is a little bit of forgotten life rescued from oblivion. Mr. Coleman limits himself rather narrowly in his discussion, but within those narrow limits he has done an excellent piece of work. The book is illustrated, has an appendix of statistics, and closes with an adequate index.

R. S. COTTERILL

Florida State College for Women

Trade and Travel around the Southern Appalachians before 1830. By Randle Bond Truett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 192. \$2.50.)

The Southern Appalachians trend westward as much as southward, so that the southernmost ridges extend into the heart of the deep South and lie about midway between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. This great mountain peninsula surrounded by the areas of the South where the plantation system prevailed was almost an alien country. It was in the South but not a real part of it in the days of the old regime. The economic and social conditions of the southern highlands and also of the Appalachian Valley in Virginia and Tennessee contrasted strongly with those of the planting South, a consequence of which was political sectionalism in each southern state that included a portion of the Appalachian area. The river courses of the mountain

South and likewise the windgaps and watergaps profoundly influenced the westward flow of colonists from the seaboard South. Virginians and North Carolinians found their way in vast numbers through or over the Southern Appalachians by several well-known routes to Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Much smaller, though important, elements left Virginia and North Carolina for the frontier country of the Lower South, following either mountain routes or missing the highlands by going farther southward.

The westward movement from South Carolina and Georgia was in marked contrast to that from Virginia and North Carolina. Comparatively few colonists from these states found their way into the new West beyond the Appalachians. Not only were formidable mountain barriers in the way but the climatic conditions were unattractive and the crops to be produced required too many difficult adjustments. On the other hand, avoiding the mountain routes, colonists could go into the newer areas of the lower South, where climatic and soil conditions invited them to come and live and engage in agriculture under conditions very similar to those with which they were familiar. It is clear that the opportunity to write a book on migration and trade around the Southern Appalachians has been open to students of the history of the Old South for a long time.

Fortunate in his subject, the author of the volume under review has produced a good monograph in which he has dealt with Indian trails, trading paths, migrating pioneers, post roads, travelers, taverns, improvements in transportation, and modes of conveyance. He has adhered closely to the region indicated in the title of his book and to the period before 1830. There is a long bibliography. Appendix I presents a few export figures. Appendix II contains an extensive list of the inns and taverns that served those who traversed the old lines of travel of the country treated in the pioneer age. A very early map is reproduced at the front of the volume and a Tanner map of 1829 at the back. A third map (opposite p. 76) is labeled "Proposed Routes between Washington and New Orleans." These old maps are interesting but the data carried by them is difficult to make out. They are worth reprinting, but one clear, accurate map prepared by the author, locating important features and places mentioned in the text, would have proved far more helpful to readers.

The information presented in this little volume is supported by abundant citations. The author has studied a large mass of contemporary material and also many special articles and monographs. The result is good, but one feels that the product is not adequate in rela-

tion to the labors that preceded the writing. The impression is left that one has read a series of not very closely related chapters. The westward movement around the Southern Appalachians might have served well as a unifying thread, and there is left the opportunity to write a separate monograph under this title.

In the first paragraph of the first chapter, the term *Appalachian* should be used instead of *Alleghany*. Do the Alleghanies extend "through northern Georgia and Alabama"? On the same page, the fall line is traced from Augusta westward, with no indication whatever that this line likewise extends northeastward from that city. On page four the expression "Central states" is used loosely, leaving the reader quite uncertain. On page eight, where the "South Alleghanies" are spoken of it would be much better to say "Southern Appalachians." The term *Alleghanies* is widely used with much freedom, but careful writers should not apply it specifically to mountain ranges located just anywhere in the Appalachians. Though it has been necessary to make some adverse criticisms, the reviewer hastens to add that he considers the volume by Mr. Truett a valuable contribution filled with interesting and useful information. It should find a place in every library where students of American history do collateral reading and it should be read by all who are interested in the early history of the lower South.

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

Indiana University

The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections. By Frederick Jackson Turner, with an introduction by Avery Craven. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935. Pp. xiv, 602. \$4.50.)

This posthumous work of a great scholar is a very significant publication for all who wish to understand American life. It reveals the methods and procedure that limited the number of his books, but which account in part for the acute discernment and discriminating accuracy that characterize them. Although not devoted to, nor acknowledging any criticism of the significance of the frontier, it clearly indicates that he had not modified his thesis. It is important as an exposition of sectionalism, the formation and interaction of distinctive regions through the influence of geography, settlement, and the exploitation of the natural resources. It was not an influence that began after the disappearance of the frontier, nor an explanation adopted by the author because of the inadequacy of the frontier thesis, but a continuous factor in American development.

In organization, this volume resembles *The Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*, which appeared in 1906 and which was one of the most popular volumes of *The American Nation*. The two volumes describe American development from 1819 to 1850, this volume beginning where the earlier volume closed. It is also an embodiment of the theories and methods expressed in many of the articles written by Professor Turner and collected and published in *The Frontier in American History* (1920), and *The Significance of Sections in American History* (1932).

The similarity to the *New West* appears in a series of chapters surveying the development of the various sections, which constitutes the first half of the book. The longest and probably the best of these chapters describes the North Central States. Other chapters give a comprehensive picture of New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the South Atlantic States, the South Central States, and Texas and the Far West. The smaller and latter part of the work treats the presidential administrations, particularly from the point of view of sectional interests and combinations. A brief and unfinished summary concludes the volume.

The description of the South is of particular interest to students of southern history. Expansion from the Atlantic coast to the interior, reaching into the region north of the Ohio as well as the Southwest, formed a greater South more extensive than the greater New England of the period. Exhaustion of the soil, exclusion of small farmers, and depression in older areas stimulated the movement. Leadership in behalf of a dominant interest, aided by migration, overcame forces of divergence and created a relatively unified South by 1850. Although nonslaveowners were more numerous, they followed planter leadership. The foreign-born were too few, and the many free Negroes lacked the opportunity to disturb this unity. The various types of plantations were those used in the raising of tobacco, rice, sugar, and cotton. The influence of these types was not identical, and considerable variation existed within them. A slight industrial development did not furnish a remedy for agricultural depression. Domestic commerce and transportation facilities were also not extensive. As the planter influence gained the ascendancy in politics the control passed from the tobacco aristocracy to that of cotton. The doctrines of concurrent majorities and state rights were developed under the leadership of Calhoun. The impossibility of leisure without forced labor, as well as the necessity of protecting property, was recognized, but antagonism arose towards the money power, industry, and a free labor class.

The culture of this section included such extremes as aristocratic chivalry; illiteracy of the common people, both black and white; the tutor and the academy rather than a public school system; colleges, faculty members, and students in numbers equal to those of other sections; a press and literati that cannot be overlooked; and religions that were highly emotional. The South expressed its genius in politics and determined its thinking and action in accordance with the decision that its culture must be preserved.

This volume may, however, be received with mingled feelings or with disappointment by some of the many admirers of the author, because it was not completed and was not given the usual finishing polish and revision. Essentially the writer of keen analytical and interpretative essays, he put a tremendous amount of work into his publications, and it is obvious that he was not ready to give three of the chapters of this work to the public. Another chapter was left unwritten. While the footnotes form a detailed and valuable bibliography of the period, it is unfortunate that recently published titles are missing. There are many important maps, but some are so small as to require the use of a magnifying glass. It is doubtful if one of them was intended for publication. While the work does not have the excellence which Turner would have given it had he lived, it is a remarkable monument to his career.

JOHN D. BARNHART

West Liberty State Teachers College

Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts. By Reginald C. McGrane. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. Pp. vii, 410. \$4.00)

This volume gives a nationwide view of those sixteen American debtor commonwealths which have passed through periods of delinquency alone, or delinquency and repudiation—five northern (Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota) and eleven southern (Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas). Of the northern group two repudiated, of the southern group the last eight states listed above. Through the period 1830-1870 the delinquencies and repudiations are traced to their final settlements with bondholders leaving the debts of the eight repudiating southern states still outstanding today. Over months of time the author has sifted many volumes of source materials at home and abroad; in the foreign mate-

rials are included the reports—and the active assistance—of Baring Brothers of London and Hope and Company of Amsterdam, both of which houses have had long and painful experiences with American public bonds. The author has made this study in economics and public finance in a full, accurate, and probably final way—a service very long needed in a question where such ignorance, confusion and unreasoning resentment have been the rule. His treatment throughout is always scientific and fair. Those bonds sold before the Confederate War and the bayonet bonds of war and reconstruction are very carefully separated. A century ago America could not build a future out of her own capital unless she had been willing to pay prohibitive rates of interest to American lenders; the European investors wanted an outlet for their surplus capital and were glad to get a yield considerably higher than that in their own countries. Then, too, American states had to pay higher interest because Europeans at times distrusted their intentions to repay. Professor McGrane gives a clear, full treatment of the effects of various defalcations and repudiations on American credit—both state and national—in money markets abroad, and on the activities of banking houses in England, Holland, Germany and even France. Among American banks is included particularly the United States Bank of Pennsylvania under Nicholas Biddle. As capital in the United States grew more plentiful in the late nineteenth century the need for borrowing in Europe grew less acute. Legislative and executive methods in the sixteen states are portrayed from materials drawn from their authentic political history, and the careless, stupid and corrupt methods—in notorious violation of statutes and constitutions—are detailed with an impartial hand. The sovereign electorates of the distressed states did not hesitate to reverse previous actions of their legislatures and to change their mandates one biennium after another; the weakness and irresponsibility of agrarian-democracies were at their worst in dealing with public financial obligations. There is little attempt to trace the story of those American bondholders who bought the bonds in good faith and afterwards lost most or all of their money.

In the matter of redress, judicial or political, for the foreign bondholders—or the lack of it—the book is less satisfactory. The various judicial decisions of state or national courts are given rather brief analysis; the titles of principal cases are often omitted entirely though the page references to reports are supplied. The suability of repudiating states in their own or Federal or international tribunals is not sufficiently explored; only brief mention is made of the Monaco case decided unanimously in favor of Mississippi by the Supreme Court

in May, 1934. The lack in our national courts of any coercive jurisdiction for nonconsenting states leaves only one method open—a settlement to be reached by joint efforts of the eight repudiating southern states, the Federal government, and the foreign bondholders or their governments. This possibility is only mentioned. The vital point in the whole question has been the denial of justice—actual or alleged—for the bondholders. The American people have set an example to Europeans which has been constantly remembered and freely cited these last few years.

Nevertheless this study is a substantial and convincing contribution to the economic and political truths of this embittered and perennial question.

BESSIE C. RANDOLPH

Hollins College

Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858-1865.

Edited with an introduction and notes by Arthur J. Larsen.
(Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society, 1934. Pp. ix, 327. \$2.50.)

Jane Grey Swisshelm was a militant feminist in the broad sense of the term. She taught school at Butler, Pennsylvania. She owned and edited newspapers: the *Saturday Visitor* in western Pennsylvania and the *St. Cloud Democrat* in Minnesota. She lectured hundreds of times from Minnesota to Washington, D. C. She engaged in spirited controversies on every conceivable subject of popular interest. She served as a nurse and government clerk during the Civil War. Not once in all her life, apparently, did she fail to have convictions and to express them in such fashion as to leave no one in doubt about her own mind.

Antislavery and woman's rights were dear to her heart and the letters reprinted in this volume bristle with cogent observations concerning both subjects.

The volume consists of editorial letters to the *St. Cloud Democrat* written by Mrs. Swisshelm while traveling on her numerous lecture tours through Minnesota and from Washington, D. C., during the war. The mere statements of her convictions on political and moral issues of the day would not have justified their reproduction. There is no evidence that her influence extended beyond the limits of her own state, and she certainly did not contribute anything new or original to the debates on the issues of the time. It was as an observant

traveler that she made a real contribution to historical literature. Her descriptions of places and people and the thousands of commonplace affairs of everyday life on the frontier are excellent. She was a much more observing woman than she was brilliant controversialist. She listened to gossip and repeated it in her letters without very much concern about the facts; and so she preserved for us the emotions of the people, even though she may not have played a very great part in creating and directing those emotions.

The introduction of thirty-two pages is an excellent biography of the author. There are three groups of letters descriptive of life in Minnesota before the war, but the bulk of the volume consists of letters written from Washington, D. C., and nearby cities from 1863 to 1865. The letters are carefully edited, in chronological order, with adequate footnote annotations and index. There are occasional illustrations.

DWIGHT L. DUMOND

University of Michigan

Black Reconstruction: An Essay toward a History of the Part which the Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935. Pp. xvii, 746. \$4.50.)

Perhaps no phase of American history has been more widely misunderstood than the part of the Negro in Reconstruction. An early generation of northern writers represented the black man as the victim of a willful conspiracy to deprive him of a few simple remedies which might have brought happiness to the South. A later generation of historians has gone to opposite extremes. They have interpreted the champions of Negro rights as motivated by a mixture of fanaticism and political trickery, while the Negro himself has been adjudged innately incapable of exercising the privileges which a democracy usually confers on the normal man. The political aberrations of the Reconstruction period have monopolized the center of the narratives, while more constructive happenings of a nonpolitical nature have been passed over lightly. These writers have convinced the American public that the work of the Carpetbaggers and their Negro coadjutors involved more tragic consequences than the bloody war which preceded Reconstruction. Obviously there is need of correction. No one is more capable of this than the Negro author Du Bois. His earlier

writings show a profound knowledge of the Negro expressed in brilliant prose.

Unfortunately, however, Dr. Du Bois' story of Reconstruction does not approximate in excellence his previous literary efforts. It is a curious fact that the most brilliant and clearest paragraphs in his book are quotations from his previous works. Occasional sentences of a poignant beauty not usual in research studies are followed by "fine writing" with little meaning. The flow of the narrative is frequently broken by repetitions, long quotations from Congressional orators, tedious legislative histories, and excursions into irrelevant fields. The last-mentioned fault is caused by the determination of the author to subject the events of Reconstruction to the criticism of the Marxian dialectic, a standard of measurement scarcely more relevant to the subject than the dialectics of St. Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. The utterances of Karl Marx on Reconstruction which the author quotes are pathetically unrealistic. One reader at least, after reading *Black Reconstruction*, is as firmly convinced as before that the difficulties of Reconstruction were fundamentally racial, with the Marxian or economic motive playing only a secondary part. The author admits that he has confined his researches to Congressional documents and inadequate secondary sources. On one page he says that this failure to read more widely is due to the nonexistence of more adequate sources; on another page he says it is due to lack of time and money! "This present study," the author confesses on page 383, "limps and gropes in darkness, lacking most essentials to a complete picture." Although this self-condemnation is too sweeping, much truth is omitted which undoubtedly would have been revealed by more adequate researches. The white South is represented in a conspiracy to re-enslave the Negroes; better proof could have been induced for the revelation of a more cruel purpose—the desire of the whites to drive the blacks from the land.

The predilection of the author for Marxian philosophy and for political and official history does not leave sufficient room for consideration of the constructive achievements of the Negroes during Reconstruction. Much is said about the abortive efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and about the enforcement acts of the Radical Congress, but nothing is said about the establishment of religious freedom among the Negroes, their winning of the right to maintain separate farms and separate family life, and the creation of new and not altogether unsatisfactory commercial relations with the new class of white merchants. These were accomplishments which have not been affected by subsequent reaction.

But for the discriminating reader there is much that is valuable in Dr. Du Bois' book. It proves that Radical Reconstruction was an inevitable reaction from the Civil War and the uncompromising attitude of the southern whites; that its failure was largely due to the unwillingness of the whites to assume leadership and to the unwillingness of the Radicals to adopt an adequate land policy. He shows that the sinister effects of Radical Reconstruction have been exaggerated; that there was no African conspiracy against civilization; that many of the Carpetbaggers and Negro leaders had visions of constructive social uplift; that the white South would have condemned the Reconstruction leaders had their conduct been exemplary; and that legalistic and educational reforms of the Reconstructionists have remained a permanent part of southern life. There is a luminous chapter on the educational achievements of the Radicals, and there are bitter but convincing condemnations of the hardships imposed upon southern Negroes since Reconstruction.

FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS

State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia

Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee. By Daniel Merritt Robison. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 238. \$2.50.)

On three occasions, in 1886, 1888, and 1896, Robert L. Taylor was elected to the governorship of Tennessee and later he was sent to Washington to represent his state in the Senate of the United States. In a period of the nation's history which saw the culmination of profound agrarian unrest in the Farmers' Alliance and The People's party, he was the most popular figure in Tennessee's political life. The tradition of him still lives among a people who have little knowledge of or interest in their past. Old men still speak affectionately of him as "Our Bob." Young men have heard their elders relate their recollections of the almost legendary gubernatorial campaign of the Taylor brothers in 1886. This locally famous "War of the Roses" between Bob, the Democrat, and Alf, the Republican, is to most of those who tell and listen a meaningless tale of a purposeless but tremendously exciting political battle between two brothers—traveling together from one end of the state to the other, sleeping in the same bed, speaking from the same platform, furnishing entertainment to large and entertainment-hungry audiences with their fiddles, their oft-repeated anecdotes and their roaring campaign oratory. There was not much

of serious discussion of fundamental problems in this campaign—or, for that matter, by Bob Taylor at any time—but the masses of the voters were thankful for this. They flocked to the polls to cast their votes for the genial, fiddling, joke-telling, oratorical nominee of the dominant Democratic party.

The meaning of Bob Taylor's popularity the narrators cannot explain and most of them would wonder that anyone should seek for the significance—if any—of this legendary hero's career. As a dispassionate and critically minded historian, however, Dr. Robison, intellectual product of the New South, has sought to analyze and to understand Tennessee politics during the years, 1886-1899, when Bob Taylor was the outstanding figure therein. He has been handicapped by inability to locate and use the private papers of Taylor or his contemporaries. He has been forced to rely largely upon newspapers and official documents, but he has searched these carefully and has used the statements therein with caution. He has not written a biography, but a political history; and he has written with clarity and restraint. It is to be regretted that he has not given greater attention to the social and economic background of his period, but his purpose was to deal primarily with politics. In doing so he has made an admirable and distinctly worthwhile contribution to the history of Tennessee and the South.

With the reviewer, a reading of this account of Bob Taylor's political career leaves a feeling of futility, of an opportunity lost because of inadequacies of personality which Taylor probably never saw in himself. By the middle eighties circumstances were such in Tennessee that there was opportunity for intelligent and courageous leadership. Taylor, a young man, unpopular with the politicians, had the power, which he often demonstrated, to win the confidence and the votes of the masses, particularly the young men and the small farmers, the "wool hat boys." But with this power there was not to be found in him any passionate desire to use it in order that either he or the people could get anywhere. He was not a demagogue; he was not a self-seeking politician; he was not a reformer; and certainly he was not a statesman. He was a conciliator, a harmonizer, a savior of his party from defeat. Many of those who had voted for him in 1886 and 1888 aided in the capture of the Democratic party by the Farmers' Alliance in 1890, but they did not do this under Taylor's leadership. He led no agrarian revolt; he gave no support to Populism. He "weaned" revolters back to a do-nothing Democracy. At a time when agrarian distress was great, when coal miners competed with convict

labor for the bare necessities of life, when children were born to compulsory illiteracy, votes were won in Tennessee, not by the presentation of a well-planned program for the fundamental betterment of conditions, but by use of resounding phrases and not-too-subtle jokes. This, it should be noted, is not what Dr. Robison says, but what a careful consideration of his book means to the reviewer.

PHILIP M. HAMER

The National Archives

Historical News and Notices

The Southern Historical Association assembled at Birmingham, Alabama, October 25 and 26, for its first annual meeting. One hundred and nine registered at the meeting, one hundred and forty attended the opening session Friday afternoon, and one hundred and twenty-two were present at the Annual Dinner Friday evening. The two sectional meetings Saturday morning were also well attended, and there were one hundred and twenty-five guests present at the luncheon tendered by Birmingham-Southern College Saturday noon. It was the concensus of opinion that the future of the Southern Historical Association was assured, and that there was a very definite place for such an organization. A summary of the proceedings of the meeting, the report of the secretary-treasurer for the year 1935, and the constitution of the Association will appear in the February, 1936, issue of the *Journal*.

PERSONAL

The Mrs. Simon Baruch prize, offered biennially under the auspices of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, has been awarded to Professor B. I. Wiley, of State Teachers College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Professor Wiley received his doctorate at Yale University in 1933, and was a student of the late U. B. Phillips. Much of the material for his prize-winning dissertation, "The Southern Negro During the War of Secession," was assembled while holding a traveling fellowship from Yale. Miss Ruth Ketring, of Duke University, received honorable mention for her essay on "Clay of Alabama—Two Generations in Politics."

Mr. A. C. Hutson, Jr., principal of Alice Bell School, Knox County, Tennessee, has received the McClung Award for 1935. The Award—a cash prize of fifty dollars—is offered by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville for the best paper printed each year in the *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society. Mr. Hutson's study is entitled, "The Coal Miners' Insurrections of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee." The judges who decided upon the award were Professors W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, A. T. Volwiler, Ohio University, and Laura A. White, University of Wyoming.

Dr. W. Neil Franklin, associate professor of history at Maryville College 1934-1935, has been appointed lecturer in history at the University of Tennessee.

The librarian of the Maryland Historical Society, Mr. Charles Fickus, died on October 3. He served the library of the Maryland society for twenty-three years after brief experience in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

Professor James A. Robertson has been appointed archivist for the state of Maryland.

Dr. William F. Vollbrecht has been appointed instructor in European history, and Dr. Harold W. Thatcher instructor in American history, at the University of Maryland.

After a semester's leave of absence devoted to educational work for the Woman's Division of the Democratic party, Professor Harriet Elliott has returned to her position at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Miss Vera Largent and Miss Bernice Draper, both of the Woman's College, have been promoted to associate professorships.

Professor John D. P. Fuller, formerly of Texas A. & M. College, has been appointed head of the department at Virginia Military Institute.

Leon F. Sensabaugh, professor of history at Oklahoma City University, has been appointed associate professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College. Dr. Sensabaugh will assume his new duties in January, 1936.

Mr. Robert D. Meade, instructor in history in the University of North Carolina, received the Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago in August. The subject of his dissertation: "Judah P. Benjamin and the American Civil War."

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney, professor of medieval history in the University of North Carolina, will be on Kenan leave from January to September, 1936, for the purpose of studying medical manuscripts of the middle ages in France, Italy, and England.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The fifteenth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will assemble in Chattanooga, Tennessee, December 27-30, in-

clusive, with the University of Chattanooga as official host. Dr. Culver H. Smith is chairman, and Mr. George Fort Milton is honorary chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. The program is in charge of a committee headed by Professor J. Fred Rippy. The Southern Historical Association will participate in one of the sessions, and there are other parts of the program in which students of southern history will be interested. The East Tennessee Historical Society is having a joint luncheon on Friday, December 27, at which Dr. T. D. Clark, of the University of Kentucky, will present a paper on "Chattanooga as an Ante-Bellum Railway Center." Professor Charles W. Ramsdell will address the Mississippi Valley Historical Association dinner on the subject, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," and Professor Avery O. Craven will present "A Rural Interpretation of the Causes of the Civil War" at the luncheon conference on Agricultural History, Saturday, December 28. On Monday, December 30, one of the round tables held jointly with the American Political Science Association will consider the "Government of the Southern Confederacy."

The Transylvanians, a patriotic society founded at Henderson, Kentucky, in 1929, held a celebration at Boonesborough on October 12, sponsored by the governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. This meeting of the society, commemorating the bicentennial anniversary of the birth of Richard Henderson (b. April 20, 1735), president of the Transylvania Company, celebrated five historic events: the founding of the Transylvania Company at Hillsborough, North Carolina, January 6, 1775; the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, March 14-17, 1775; the cutting of the Transylvania Trail from the Holston river, in Tennessee, to Otter creek, Kentucky; the convening of the Transylvania legislature at Boonesborough, May 23, 1775; and the founding of the State of Transylvania and its capital, Boonesborough, April-May, 1775.

The Madison County (Kentucky) Historical Society unveiled on October 11 a painting by Mr. Bert Mullins of Berea, portraying Daniel Boone and three companions, viewing for the first time (June 7, 1769) the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. The principal speaker at the ceremony was Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina.

At the November meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Edmund C. Gass, of the University of Tennessee, presented a paper on "The Constitutional Opinions of Justice John Catron." At

the December meeting, Judge Samuel C. Williams of Johnson City, Tennessee, will discuss "Stephen Holston and Holston River."

On December 6, President John Stewart Bryan, of William and Mary College, will address the Virginians of the City of New York on the subject, "The Virginia Historical Society."

Early in 1934 the Fort Raleigh tract of over sixteen acres on Roanoke Island where Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" settled, was deeded to the North Carolina Historical Commission. Since that time, with the aid of Federal funds, restoration has been in progress, and it is expected that the work will soon be completed.

The North Carolina legislature at its 1935 session authorized the expenditure of \$5000 annually during the 1935-1937 biennium for the erection of historical highway markers in the state. The program is now being launched by the Historical Commission, the Department of Conservation and Development, and the Highway Commission. With certain modifications the Virginia system will be used.

The Huguenot Society of South Carolina commemorated a number of historical events during the past year: on April 14, the fiftieth anniversary of its founding; on May 12, the ninetieth anniversary of the dedication of the present church building (Charleston), the third building on the same site; and on October 20, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Joshua C. Chase, of Winter Park, Florida, is the new president of the Florida Historical Society, succeeding Alston Cockerill, of Jacksonville. Julien C. Yonge, Pensacola, continues as first vice president; Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, of the Florida State College for Women, is second vice president; Herbert L. Lamson, Jacksonville, is secretary; and Carl Bohnenberger, Jacksonville, continues as corresponding secretary and librarian.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the award of eight pre-doctoral fellowships for graduate study. These fellowships provide one thousand dollars and tuition charges; and are designed to aid exceptionally promising students of the social sciences to obtain research training beginning with the first year of graduate study. Fellows are required to devote their full time to graduate study, in some other institution than that in which they received their undergraduate training.

The fellowships will be offered again for the academic year 1936-1937. The closing date for the receipt of applications on blanks to be secured from the Fellowship Secretary is March 15, 1936. Inquiries should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. Each candidate must submit a letter from the Chairman of the department in which he has pursued his major undergraduate study, in support of his application, before blanks will be sent to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The summer, 1935, number of the *Kentucky Progress Magazine* (Louisville) is a Transylvania memorial edition with Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, as guest editor. In addition to numerous pictures and silhouettes of founders and pioneers of early Kentucky, replicas of coats of arms and bronze tablets, photostats of maps and contemporary documents, and sundry views of present-day Kentucky, the issue contains the following articles: "The Purpose of the Transylvanians," by Robert Worth Bingham; "Richard Henderson, President of the Transylvania Company," by Archibald Henderson; "The Founding of Henderson, Kentucky," by Susan Starling Towles; "The Personnel of the Transylvania Company," by Julia Alves Clore; "Joseph Martin and Martin's Station," by William Allen Pusey; "The First Religious Service in Kentucky," by the Right Reverend Bishop Almon Abbott; "The Founding of Boonesborough," by Louise Phelps Kellogg; and "Transylvania," by R. S. Cotterill.

The Beginnings of Printing in Virginia (49 pp.) is the title of the latest incunabular venture of Douglas C. McMurtrie. Five hundred copies of this attractive booklet were printed in the journalism laboratory of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia (1935). Mr. McMurtrie's researches show that the first press was established in Virginia in 1682 by John Buckner and William Nuthead, and that this was the second printing office in the American colonies. This earliest Virginia press was disestablished the following year by royal authority, and it was not until 1730 that William Parks established a permanent press at Williamsburg which remained the sole office in the colony until 1766. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, other presses were established in Williamsburg, Norfolk, Richmond, Charlottesville, Alexandria, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, Winchester, Dumfries, Lynchburg, Staunton, Leesburg, Fincastle, Lexing-

ton, Abingdon, Newmarket, and Wythe Court House. The author closes with a statement of the popularity of the title, *Virginia Gazette*, for early papers published in the Old Dominion: "For the period 1736 to 1809, Clarence S. Brigham, in his bibliography of American newspapers lists no fewer than twenty-four papers which had *Virginia Gazette* for at least part of their titles" (p. 49).

"A Slave Sale of 1827," by A. Van Doren Honeyman, is published in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society (October). The text of the bill of sale is preceded by a brief discussion of the institution of slavery in New Jersey which was not legally abolished until 1846.

Georgia's Forgotten Industry: Gold Mining (38 pp.), by Fletcher M. Green, is reprinted from the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 2 and 3.

Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXIV (New York, 1934), embraces *Catawba Texts*, by Frank G. Speck. This brief volume (91 pp.) consists of tales and narratives of the Catawba Indians who inhabited the upper waters of the Carolina river by the same name. According to the author the texts, which are reproduced in the native language and also in both literal and free translations, have little literary merit but possess historical and philological value.

Within a few months the North Carolina Historical Commission will publish Volume III of *The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell*, edited by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Volume I appeared in 1929, Volume II in 1931.

The South Looks at Its Past, by B. B. Kendrick and Alex M. Arnett, has been published by the University of North Carolina Press.

Mr. John Morgan Wooten has privately published at Cleveland, Tennessee (n.d.), *Red Clay in History*, 11 pp. Mr. Wooten seeks to prove that the Cherokee council ground, 1832-1838, known as Red Clay, was located in Tennessee rather than in Georgia, where the present Red Clay post office is located.

The stock of *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital*, edited by Howard Swiggett (reviewed in the *Journal*, August, 1935), has been transferred from the Old Hickory Bookshop to Barnes

& Noble, New York City, and the price has been reduced from \$7.50 to \$5.00 per set.

The papers and plantation account books of the Ridgley family of Hampden, Maryland, have been acquired by the Maryland Historical Society. The account books date from the year 1723.

Mrs. Sara Hardt Mencken, Goucher alumna of 1920, has left her library of about five hundred books to Goucher College. The collection contains numerous volumes on southern history, particularly on the Civil War period and on Alabama, the novelist's native state. Some of the Alabama items are historical; others treat the flora and fauna of the region.

Old Rough and Ready on the Rio Grande, 128 pp., by Florence Johnson Scott (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1935), consists of three essays in Texas history. In addition to that which gives title to the whole booklet, the writer treats "The Mier Expedition" of 1842 and "The Last Battle of the Civil War," which was fought near Brownsville, Texas, six weeks after Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

Attention has already been called (*Journal*, August, 1935) to the acquisition of a part of the J. Hayes Allin correspondence by the McClung Historical Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. The remainder of the Allin collection, consisting of many hundreds of letters, has since come into the possession of the library. A calendar of the papers is in preparation.

A large collection of books relating to Virginia and the South was recently purchased by the William and Mary College Library. The number of items in this addition is estimated at twelve or fifteen thousand pieces.

Articles on the Upper South: "Piscattaway," by William B. Marye, and "Admiral Vernon, his Marylanders and his Medals," by Leander McCormick-Goodhart, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September); "John B. Floyd and his Traducers," by Robert M. Hughes, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October); "Colonial Brick Buildings," by Lyon G. Tyler, and "Benjamin Harrison, the Signer," by H. O. Bishop, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October); "An Effort to Identify John White," by Randolph G. Adams, in the *American Historical Review* (October); "Geographic Influences in the History of North Carolina," by Ben Franklin Lemert, in the *North Carolina Historical Review*

(October); "Shelby's Fort," by Samuel C. Williams, "Judicial Activities in Early East Tennessee," by Miriam L. Fink, "One Hundred Years of New Prospect Presbyterian Church, Knox County, Tennessee, 1834-1934," by Horace E. Orr, and "The Coal Miners' Insurrections of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee," by A. C. Hutson, Jr., in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (1935); "Old Millstones of Kentucky," by William S. Webb, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (October); "The Big Bones of Northern Kentucky," by Willard Rouse Jillson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (July); "New Discoveries Amongst Old Records," by C. R. Staples, "Transylvania Seminary's First Site and Some Circumstances of its Beginnings," by Annie Stuart Anderson, and "The Transylvania Memorial," by Willard Rouse Jillson, *ibid.* (October); "James and Robert Aull—A Frontier Missouri Mercantile Firm," by Lewis E. Atherton, "The Raid on the Parkville *Industrial Luminary*," by Roy V. Magers, and "History of Township Organization in Missouri," by Milton Garrison, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (October).

Documents and compilations on the Upper South: "The Daily Journal of Robert Mills, Baltimore, 1816," edited by Richard Xavier Evans, and "Land Records of Baltimore County, 1679 and 1680," contributed by Louis Dow Scisco, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September); "Edmund Randolph's Essay on the Revolutionary History of Virginia, 1774-1782," continued, "Diary of Col. William Bolling of Bolling Hall," notes by the editor, and "Excerpts from the Charles City County Records, (1655-1666)," continued, contributed by Robert Armistead Stewart, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October); "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Jefferson," concluded, edited by Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October); "The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier," continued, edited by Samuel C. Williams, in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (1935); "Rev. John Dabney Shane's Interview with Mrs. Sarah Graham of Bath County," transcribed by Lucien Beckner, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (October); "The Journal of my Soldier Life," continued, by James Bennett McCreary, "History in Circuit Court Records—Fayette County, Ky.," concluded, compiled by Charles R. Staples, "La Fayette in Kentucky," continued, compiled by Edgar Erskine Hume, and "The Advertiser—An Early Kentucky Newspaper," compiled by Mabel R. Carlock, in the *Register of the*

Kentucky State Historical Society (July); "La Fayette in Kentucky," continued, compiled by Edgar Erskine Hume, *ibid.* (October).

Articles on the Lower South: "The First Fifty Years of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina," by C. Bissell Jenkins, and "A Huguenot in the Winning of the West," by William Haskell DuBose, in the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (1935); "Radical Disfranchisement in Georgia, 1867-71," by William A. Russ, Jr., "Georgia's Forgotten Industry: Gold Mining," part II, by Fletcher M. Green, and "Education and Reconstruction in Georgia," part II, by R. R. Hollingsworth, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September); "An Overlooked Personality in Southern Life [Samuel Augustus Hale]," in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October); "Red River—A Mercantile Expedition," by Donald Bridgman Sanger, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October); "An Outline of Shreveport and Caddo Parish History," by J. Fair Hardin, and "A History of the Caddo Indians," by William B. Glover, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (October); "Population and Land Utilization: The Problem of Submarginal Farms in Louisiana," by T. Lynn Smith, and "Pamelia Mann: Texas Frontierswoman," by William Ransom Hogan, in the *Southwest Review* (July); "The Earliest Printing and First Newspaper in Texas," by Ike H. Moore, and "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," part I, by Lawrence F. Hill, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).

Documents and compilations on the Lower South: "Wills of South Carolina Huguenots," edited by Katherine B. Mazyck, in the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (1935); "Diary of William Dillwyn during a Visit to Charles Town in 1772-1773," continued, edited by A. S. Salley, and "The Thomas Elf Account Book, 1768-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October); "Some Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia," edited by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September); "The First American Road in Florida: Papers Relating to the Survey and Construction of the Pensacola-St. Augustine Highway," part I, edited by Mark F. Boyd, and "William Pantan," compiled by Marie Taylor Greenslade, in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* (October); "The French Press of Louisiana: Notes in Supplement to Edward Larocque Tinker's 'Bibliography of French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana,'" compiled by Douglas C. McMurtrie; "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," continued,

translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, and "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," continued, translated by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Henry P. Dart, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (October); "Letters of Antonio Martinez, the Last Spanish Governor of Texas, 1817-1822," part II, translated and edited by Mattie Austin Hatcher, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October); "The Fall of San Antonio: Milam's Victory over Cos, December 5-11, 1835," translated from the Memoirs of Herman Ehrenberg by Charlotte Churchill, introductory note by Herbert P. Gambrell, in the *Southwest Review* (July).

General and regional articles: "The Constitution and States' Rights," by Charles A. Beard, in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (October); "Whither the Sovereign State?" by F. R. Aumann, and "Abraham Lincoln Fights the Battle of Fort Sumter," by Archibald Rutledge, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (October); "Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune in the Civil War," by R. R. Fahrney, in *New York History* (October); "Virginia and Carolina Homes before the Revolution," by Julia Cherry Spruill, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October); "Parson Brownlow's Tour of the North During the Civil War," by E. Merton Coulter, "The Unionist Junket of the Legislatures of Tennessee and Kentucky in January, 1860," by Madison Bratton, and "The Cincinnati Southern Railway: A Municipal Enterprise," by R. O. Biggs, in the *Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society* (1935); "The Good(k)night (Gutknecht) Family in America," by S. H. Goodnight, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (October); "Early Religious Efforts in the Lower Mississippi Valley," by V. Alton Moody, "The Jeffersonian Background of the Louisiana Purchase," by W. Edwin Hemphill, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," by William B. Hesseltine, and "Moustier's Memoir on Louisiana," edited by E. Wilson Lyon, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (September); "Proposals to Transfer the French Population of Canada to Louisiana," by E. Wilson Lyon, in the *Canadian Historical Review* (September); "The Quadroon Girl of Southern Illinois," by J. G. Mulcaster, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (October); "Southern Population and Social Planning," by T. J. Woofert, Jr., in *Social Forces* (October).

Directory of Contributors

A. B. Moore is dean of the graduate school and head of the history department at the University of Alabama.

Edgar Legare Pennington is rector of Grace Church, Ocala, Florida.

P. L. Rainwater is associate professor of history at the University of Mississippi.

Francis B. Simkins is professor of history at State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia.

James W. Patton is professor of history at Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Wirt Armistead Cate lives at Nashville, Tennessee.

Buford Rowland is graduate assistant in history at the University of Wisconsin.

The student of Southern history cannot afford to be without **THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW**, for two easily stated reasons.

First, for eleven years that Virginia Quarterly has been including in its varied table of contents articles interpreting, from the Southern point of view, the South's rich historical background.

Secondly, the Southern tradition has been the most continuous tradition in American life, and that tradition in its contemporary aspects is symbolized by **THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW**. In the contemporary life of the South the Virginia Quarterly is a cultural fact of which every student of the South must take cognizance.

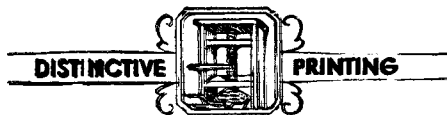
But in addition to these two reasons why you will find **THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW** indispensable, there is a third reason why it will bring you constant enjoyment and stimulus. Publishing, as it does, articles on literary, political, economic, and social themes, written by well known writers in America and abroad as well as by writers just beginning their careers, it is a Southern review, dealing with the world at large and read by the world at large. It brings to a focus the South's participation in the international republic of letters.

Printing and Business

Your business can't get along without printing... and remember, printing does the work best when it bears those finer qualities that only a progressive and painstaking printer can impress.

Our up-to-date shop, our gifted craftsmen—real artists at their work—are ready to serve you with snappy, distinctive printing you'll thoroughly appreciate, and you'll pay no more for it.

*Make Use of Our
Art Department*



The FRANKLIN PRESS, Inc.

PHONE 195 216 MAIN ST. BATON ROUGE, LA.